

The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,

We are verily gully concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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SLAVE-HOLDER'S DEPARTMENT.

Slave Market.

[From the New York American.]

Mr. Editor—On looking into the National Intelligencer of the 10th Feb. inst., I find that the House of Representatives have resolved that "Congress ought not to interfere in any way with slavery in the District of Columbia." Ayes 163, Noes 47.

The same copy of the Intelligencer contains the following advertisements, viz:—

CASH IN MARKET.

I wish to purchase a number of servants, of both sexes, for which I will pay the highest market price. Persons wishing to sell, will do well to call at my residence near the National Hotel. Letters addressed to me through the Post Office shall receive the earliest attention.

WM. H. WILLIAMS, Washington.

CASH FOR 200 NEGROES.

Including both sexes, from 12 to 23 years of age. Persons having servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give me a call, as I will give higher prices than any other purchaser who is now in this market. I can at all times be found at the Mechanics' Hall, kept by B. O. Sheekle, and formerly kept by Isaac Beers, 7th st., a few doors below Lloyd's tavern, opposite Centre Market. All communications promptly attended to.

JAMES H. RICH, Washington City.

CASH FOR 500 NEGROES.

Including both sexes, from 12 to 25 years of age. Persons having servants to dispose of, will find it to their interest to give me a call, as I will give higher prices in cash than any other purchaser who is now or may hereafter come into the market.

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD, Alexandria.

You may perhaps wonder, Mr. Editor, what gentlemen in the District of Columbia can want so many servants for. One advertiser for an indefinite number—another for 200—and a third for 500! Please to take notice that, in two of these advertisements, reference is made to "this market." The market alluded to is the District of Columbia, the slave market of the United States; and these gentlemen who want so many servants are slave traders. Of the value of this trade to the Metropolis of the American republic, you may form some idea by the amount paid by the traders for the privilege of carrying it on. I quote from the laws of the city of Washington, page 249:—"For a license to trade or traffic in slaves for profit, whether as agent or otherwise, FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS." But you may perhaps wonder again, Mr. Editor, what these gentlemen traders do with all their servants. Let us again recur to the National Intelligencer of the 10th inst. We there find the following notice:—

ALEXANDRIA AND N. ORLEANS PACKETS.

Brig Tribune, Samuel C. Brush, master, will sail as above on the 1st of January; brig Isaac Franklin, Wm. Smith, master, on the 15th of January; brig Unca, Nath. Boush, master, on the 1st of February. They will continue to leave this port on the 1st and 15th of each month throughout the shipping season. They are all vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced and accommodating officers, and will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion used to promote the interest of shippers and comfort of passengers. Shippers may prevent disappointment by having their bills of lading ready the day previous to sailing, as they will go promptly at the time.

Servants that are intended to be shipped, will at any time be received for safe keeping, at 25 cts. per day.

JOHN ARMFIELD, Alexandria.

Here we have, Mr. Editor, three slaves constantly engaged in the trade, and owned by one dealer. Would you know how these slaves are fitted up for the accommodation of servants?—Mr. J. Leavitt, of N. York, visited the brig Tribune, one of the above, in 1834, and published an account of his visit. He says "the hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments: the after-hold will carry 80 women, and the other about 100 men. On either side were two platforms running the whole length, one raised a few inches, and the other about half way up to the deck. They were about 5-12 or 6-feet deep. On them they lie as close as they can stow away."

As Congress are not to interfere in "any way" with slavery in the District of Columbia, we may expect that this trade will flourish exceedingly, since there will be no legal check on the cruelty and cupidity of the traders. In the slave states, such laws may be passed for the management of slaves, as it may be supposed humanity requires, and there are laws regulating the diet, clothing, and working hours of the slaves. But as Congress, although possessing "exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever" over the district, is to exercise no jurisdiction whatever, in relation to slavery, it is obvious that slavery, and the slave trade, under the sanction and authority of Congress, must acquire a character of peculiar atrocity.

The following expressions of public opinion, differ very widely from the sentiments lately avowed in Congress, and which will probably be maintained by certain politicians, until the presidential election has been decided:

Resolution of the Pennsylvania legislature in 1828:—"Resolved, That the senators of this state, in the Senate of the United States, are hereby requested to procure, if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in such a manner as they may consider consistent with the rights of individuals, and the constitution of the United States."

On the 9th January, 1829, the House of Representatives, "Resolved, that the committee of the District of Columbia be instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery in the district, in such manner that no individual shall be injured thereby."

On the 28th Jan. 1829, the House of Assembly of the New York Legislature, "Resolved, (if the Senate concur herein) that the senators of this state

in the Congress of the United States, be, and are hereby instructed, and the Representatives of this state are requested to make every possible exertion, to effect the passage of a law, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia."

The following extract, shows us in what light those who contend that slavery in the District of Columbia ought to be abolished, by Congress, are viewed by southern gentlemen:

"We are called to distinguish between the petitioners for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the abolitionists, who are members of the societies. Sir, I cannot distinguish between them. I wish I could honestly. I know not one of these abolitionists. I know nothing about them, and cannot, therefore, say any thing against their personal character. But in relation to the schemes of the abolitionists, and the designs of these petitioners, I have this remark to make, that I cannot distinguish between the devil, and those who do his works."—[Speech of Mr. Garland in the House of Representatives, 6th Jan. 1836.]

Testimony of a Slaveholder.

The following letter accompanies the message of governor Tazewell of Virginia. It was written by a gentleman of N. Carolina who professes to be the owner of slaves. He has been repeatedly at the office of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and has purchased largely of our publications—to make the very same use of them we have been denounced for making, viz: to send them to influential slaveholders at the south. We have never heard that a reward has been offered for his head, for these "incendiary" proceedings. It should be observed, too, that he has not been molested by us. Were we such blood-thirsty men as we are represented to be—designing to rouse the slaves to cut their master's throats, why did we not take care of this slaveholder when we had him in our power?—*Emancipator*.

NEW YORK, Oct. 20th, 1835.

Sir—A number of gentlemen from the south, who have passed most of the summer in this part of the country, and who together with myself have (from motives of deep interest) made the excitement here on the slave question a subject of close and constant investigation, have thought it right that the result of our observations should in some measure be communicated to the authorities of those states wherein slavery exists as an essential feature in their political system.

Among our number, were individuals from all the Atlantic slaveholding states except Maryland.

Our intercourse with the people of the states of New England and New York had been general and, actuated by the same interest, we made it a business to scrutinize public opinion, that we might be enlightened, not only for our own satisfaction, but for the satisfaction and guidance of those of our friends at home, who, equally interested, were obliged to be dependent for their information upon the casual statements of the public prints.

The true state of the abolition cause is unknown to nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the north, not that the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society are concealed—its course is bold and open—but the immediate interest of the people here is not sufficiently concerned to elicit their attention; and having had their public meetings, they deem their duty done, and regard us as highly culpable in not being equally satisfied with themselves in the result of those meetings. The most intelligent who have not visited the south, are miserably ignorant of our social relations; and as they are not instigated by interest to learn the extent of the exertions made against us, so are they, of course, utterly unable to judge of the injury likely to result therefrom.

The consequence of this state of things is, that in almost every circle, abolition is treated as a topic which is kept alive by the violent denunciations of the south against it. The abolitionists in the meanwhile (secure in the rampart of protection afforded them by the popular cry against any abridgement of the freedom of the press, and by the apathy and ignorance of those who truly wish to see their cause prospered but at the same time are unwilling to do anything to effect that object) are progressing in their career of incendiarism; and, as I was informed by the secretary of their society (who is also editor of the "Emancipator" and "Human Rights") they are now stronger than at any former period. Their press is in constant and active operation, and in addition to its other publications, has recently produced an "Anti-Slavery Quarterly Magazine," of which the same gentleman is editor. I have visited their office a number of times for the purpose of informing myself correctly of the extent of their proceedings, and have found the individuals connected with the establishment fearless and decided in their determination to carry on this warfare against the south, unless checked by legislative penalties, the enactment of which, they confidently assert, from the tone and temper of the public mind, to be impossible. There are among them some men of great respectability and influence; one of whom is Judge William Jay, who, in his charge to the grand jury of Westchester county, in this state, took occasion to say, that any attempt to control the press would be null and void, and should meet with the immediate opposition and resistance of every citizen. The abolitionists are not aiming at any ulterior political object; their whole efforts are directed against the institution of slavery, and they prosecute their cause from an honest conviction that their religion demands it, and with an energy that is ten-fold more invigorated by the fanaticism that influences them—and for this reason is the security of our rights the more endangered.

An abolitionist, whom I casually met with, traveling, expressed this sentiment to me:—"Sir, this is a question to be settled in the free states; here the battle of slavery is to be fought. Whenever we shall achieve the conquest of public opinion here, there will be no longer any question for the south to decide. With our immense majority and increasing preponderance, and with one-half of your population, from the nature of circumstances, hostile to you, you will be forced to yield to the overwhelming influence of public opinion, or take the consequences which you yourselves make appalling." I was indignantly forced to believe that he spoke but the sentiments of his class.

Agreeing with me that our situation was most imminent, I was deputed by the gentlemen to whom I have before alluded, to procure copies of the different publications, books, tracts, &c. and forward them to the executives of the different slaveholding states, in the hope that they may be made the subject of legislative examination at least, and of such further action as they, to whom the public weal is committed, may think proper.

By reference to the package which I send you, you will perceive that public sentiment is attracted by every species of composition, from primers and tracts, designed to act upon the young and plastic, to graver publications, filled with subtle and ingen-

ious arguments, for those who need a show of reason.

Primers, tracts, almanacs, hymn books, scripture quotations, annals, legal discussions and magazines, together with a variety of minor publications, lithographs, &c. are issued in vast numbers—all intended to create and direct popular feeling against us, while we are expected to sit down contented with rapid resolutions and unmeaning expressions of sympathy.

Such has been the demand for the lithographs, that I was unable to procure two of the most important, the edition being exhausted. Printed handkerchiefs, medals, seals, images calculated to render odious the institution of slavery, are also resorted to as instruments of public excitement—and all British publications promotive of the same object are here reprinted.

Allow me to refer you to an advertisement in the "Emancipator," (which is sent) for a list of the publications for sale at the anti-slavery depository in this city. This list is, however, incomplete. I have omitted to send the heavier publications, believing that these specimens would sufficiently exhibit facts are.

Trusting that this communication, from the deeply interesting subject of which it treats, may not be as they deemed intrusive, &c.

SLAVERY—AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

The Slave Trade.

His majesty's brigantine Buzzard, of three guns and fifty men, sailed from Spithead on the 24th of September, 1834, and in less than twelve months she has captured one thousand nine hundred and thirty-five slaves, all intended for the Havana market.

Although this country is bound to exert itself for the abolition of the foreign slave trade: equally with Great Britain, yet how seldom do we hear of our native vessels having captured any slave engaged in that illicit traffic! The people make no inquiries upon this subject, for they care very little about it. The question, however, is worthy of consideration, why it is that a British brigantine, of only three guns and fifty men, has recaptured more kidnapped Africans in less than one year, than has the United States navy within the last thirty years! In the first place it is to be recollected that a large majority of our naval officers are southern men, many of whom are directly or indirectly interested in slave property. Of course, their indignation is not roused, nor is their sensibility wounded, by the seizure of native Africans; for they have yet to learn that black men were not made for marketable commodities. Again: it is an indisputable fact, that thousands of slaves from Africa are annually smuggled into Louisiana, by the way of the Balize, some of whom are sent to Texas, others are dispersed among the cotton plantations along the Mississippi, and others find their way to Alabama, &c. We have repeatedly warned the people of this country, that slavery and the slave trade are inseparably connected, and must live or die together. The former creates the market, the latter furnishes the supply. Although it is more than half a century since Wilberforce and Clarkson began their efforts; although the most powerful nations of the world have agreed, by treaty, to regard and punish the traffic as piracy; and although the utmost vigilance is manifested by British cruisers in capturing the vessels engaged in it; yet all has been in vain. Sierra Leone has done nothing. The slave traders laugh at treaties, and defy the combined powers of Christendom. The trade is as brisk, and carried on to as great an extent, as it was when Clarkson first began to portray its enormities. Hence, it is as certain that nothing but the overthrow of slavery will abolish this direful commerce, as that to destroy an effect you must destroy the cause. We entreat those who profess to feel so keenly for the wrongs and woes of bleeding Africa, and to abhor the foreign slave trade, and who are yet opposed to the immediate abolition of slavery, seriously to reflect upon these startling facts; and, instead of denouncing a remedy so beneficent and certain, let them henceforth labor with all their might to apply it—otherwise blood will drench their garments, and guilt rest upon their souls.

But if the foreign traffic is thus connected with the slave system, how much more certainly is the domestic? Coffles of slaves are constantly driven from one section of our country to the other, and vessels are freighted regularly with these miserable victims of American lust and avarice. In fact, this trade "in slaves and souls of men" is a very large branch of American commerce. Nothing but the abolition of slavery will destroy it. How awful, then, is the responsibility which rests upon those who are endeavoring to frustrate the labors of the abolitionists!

Slavery in the Abstract.

Let us ask.—What is "slavery in the abstract?" about which the opponents of abolitionists say so much and appear to understand so little? The phrase "in the abstract," according to Mr. Webster, means, "a subject considered in a state of separation, (that is,) without reference to particular persons or things." Now, according to this definition, slavery in the abstract must be regarded as an institution wholly separate from the persons (slaveholders) and means (kidnapping, buying, or stealing, &c.) employed in the slave trade. It must be viewed without reference to the cruel laws that actually oppress and degrade the rational to a common level with the brute creation. It must be separated from the inhuman and brutal manner by which the slave is compelled to labor by the lash of the cart-whip without wages, and to live upon the coarsest and most scanty portions of food,—separated from the appalling transactions of buying, selling, and stealing men, women, and children, by which the most endearing ties of kindred and friendship are inhumanly torn asunder, and that forever. Abstracted from that indiscriminate and shameless debauchery, practised by amalgamating masters and slaves, without the interference, and under the eye of the civil law,—to which we might add many more circumstances of abomination. Now, our opponents tell us that slavery in the abstract, that is, something else and not sin; or it would not do to call it sin, for that would condemn the master as a sinner. But we submit the question to a candid world, whether these circumstances do not augment rather than extenuate the guilt of slavery. We apprehend that the unprincipled slaveholder would care but little for "slavery in the abstract," if he were deprived of the rest part of the system. He would be likely to say, "If you take away circumstances indispensable to the operation of the system, you may as well have the whole,—the rest but a name. Let the opponents of this kind of slavery abolish it as soon as they please." But it may be said that the above is not what they mean

by slavery in the abstract; and will they tell us what they do mean! Some perhaps would define it to mean,—slavery when viewed apart from the great difficulties of emancipation. And what are these? Why, some are the prohibitions of statute laws. Others, the fearful consequences apprehended as the result of emancipation. In reference to the first,—who made the laws against freeing the slaves?—why, slaveholders, certainly. And does the addition of such a system of laws, the very object of which is to bind the chains of slavery more closely, make the system less sinful? Oh! how is right reason perverted by this mode of reasoning. As to the consequences apprehended by letting the oppressed go free, cutting throats, burning buildings, pillage, starvation, and death, &c. &c. there is a total absence of proof on that point. Where the experiment has been tried, the reverse has been true. Nor will we believe the danger so appalling until we have more evidence in the case. But on what is this awful prediction founded? Is it expected that the subjects of sudden release from oppression, will feel so much enraged at such an act of injustice, in letting them loose from chains, that they will take this method to be revenged on their masters? This, I believe, is not pretended. But it is feared that vengeance will be taken, for holding them in bondage and denying them their rights so long. How far this fear implies a conviction of the injustice and sinfulness of slavery, we leave our enemies to judge. Should even their greatest fears be realized, it could not prove that slavery was not morally wrong. The plain truth is, slavery is a great sin, view it as you please, in principle, or in practice. But if it can be robbed of its moral turpitude in any degree, it is, when viewed in the abstract. But it looks bad in every view in which it can be taken. It is the great abomination of desolation in our country. To let it alone is to partake in a measure of its guilt, and tamely consent to the inevitable ruin of our beloved country. But to remove this soul-blighting abomination, we trust in the power of moral principles, clearly and fully set forth in the name of God, through the length and breadth of the land. What is impossible with men, is possible, aye, very easy with God. In answer to prayer we trust he will break the yoke of the oppressor, disperse the master to "forbear threatening," and render that which is just and equal, and let the oppressed go free.—*Zion's Watchman*. S. N.

NORTHERN SPIRIT.

Mr. Calhoun's Bill.

THE (Philadelphia) Independent Weekly Press, speaking of this document, has the following sensible remarks:—

"Now observe, that anti-slavery publications are not specified, but everything touching the subject of slavery, pro or con, is to be suppressed. It would be too flagrant an outrage upon the principles of freedom to permit publications favoring one view of the subject to be circulated, and to suppress those favoring the opposite view. Even slaveholders themselves could not advance so far; and we have accordingly before us a bill which proposes to show fair-play, by suppressing everything on either side. Let this bill be passed, and those who agree with the governor of South Carolina will no longer be able to urge upon their friends the duty of fulfilling the destinies of providence, and supporting a divine institution, as they represent slavery to be. Let this bill be passed, and every newspaper at the south must either change its tone or be suppressed. Every advertisement of a slave to be bought or sold, every notice of a runaway slave, every defence of the abomination, with which the columns of southern papers are daily filled, must be blotted out entirely; for the committee report that everything touching the subject of slavery should be suppressed. Let this bill be passed, and even John C. Calhoun, the chairman of the committee who reported the bill, will no longer be able to send to his own constituents the speeches he may make on the numerous petitions touching the subject of slavery, which will undoubtedly be presented at the next session of Congress. Aye, let this bill be passed, and conscience is dethroned, her rights are stolen away, and American freemen are cowering before tyrants. Conscience may command us to rebuke our brother, and in no wise suffer the sin of oppression to rest upon him; but our tongues are tied, and our hands are fettered, by the law of man. And were there no higher law and none who would rather obey God than man, the groaning captive might sigh in bondage till death release him, and leave his children and children's children to inherit the same unhappy fate.

But let us look at the bill again. "It shall not be lawful for any deputy-constable, &c., knowingly to receive and put into the mail any pamphlet, newspaper, handbill, or other paper, printed or written, or pictorial representation, touching the subject of slavery," &c. Pictorial representations appear greatly to disturb our southern brethren. Pictures, they say, are intended to convey ideas to the mind. And to the minds of whom? Certainly not of those who can read; for these need no pictures to convey ideas to their minds; and what class is it among us which cannot read, they further ask, except the slaves! So, according to them, it is clearly proved that we are endeavoring to excite the slaves! And, therefore, pictorial representations also, touching the subject of slavery, must be suppressed. This clause of the bill, if passed and enforced, will work a greater revolution at the south than at the north. Virginia must change her coat of arms; for the present vignette is eminently calculated to excite the slaves to rebellion. It is a pictorial representation of Liberty standing upon the body of a tyrant and piercing it through with a spear. Over this is inserted, in capital letters, SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS. And Pleasants & Co., the editors of the Richmond Whig are sending out this incendiary pictorial representation at the head of every paper, hundreds of which are circulated through the mail in the slaveholding states. Moreover, we can scarcely take up a single newspaper, published at the south, but we find in it one or more pictorial representations, eminently calculated to lead the slaves to run away from their masters, or excite them to insurrection. Slaves are represented as running away from their masters with a bundle on their backs, and looking behind them to see whether they are pursued. Now we ask, is not this calculated to make the slaves think of running away, and to suspect that slavery is not so pleasant as they thought it was, if so many are running away from it! That these incendiary pictorial representations are intended for the slaves cannot, for a moment, be questioned; because, as proved above, pictures are intended to convey ideas to the mind, and to the minds of those who cannot read; and as the slaves are almost the only persons at the south who cannot read, therefore we have it proved beyond dispute, that

these pictorial representations are intended for them. And the United States mail is used as the instrument for circulating them throughout the south, which is completely flooded with them.

But the bill speaks of a "District" making such laws, &c. Now let it be observed, no such law existed in the District of Columbia before the session by Maryland and Virginia, and, as Congress is the only legislature for this District, if any such law should be enacted now, it would be unconstitutional (according to the committee,) as Congress have no right to abridge the freedom of the press, by forbidding either publication or circulation. Then the committee report a bill, making provision for what they themselves show to be unconstitutional. This, however, is but a slight mistake for men engaged in such a cause. Can we for a moment suppose, that an American Congress will act in direct opposition to the constitution of the land, in order to favor oppression and sacrifice their dearest rights?

Let us give the bill another reading. "It shall not be lawful," &c., "to put into the mail any paper, printed or written," &c. Thus, even our letters are placed under the censorship of the post-boy, who is empowered to throw aside any which he may suspect as touching the subject of slavery. Americans! the descendants of the puritans, the admiration of the world, whose declaration of rights is worthy of us, and will live forever, we appeal to your feelings of independence, whether you will submit to such a bill. Has Congress, or any state legislature, the power to say that we shall not converse on certain subjects, around our own firesides and the firesides of our friends? And is not a letter, a mere conversation on paper, to a friend who is absent? and yet postmasters are to be invested with the power of intercepting some letters, of stopping written conversation, if it chance to be on the subject of slavery. Now we are the admiration of the world, but if this bill should pass into a law, how soon would their admiration be changed into scorn! Yea, the tyrants of the old world would hold a jubilee for joy at the event, singing, America is fallen, and the flame of liberty is quenched, and our thrones shall yet stand!

In conclusion, we would ask our southern brethren, do you expect to smother all discussion, and continue to enslave your fellow-men to the latest generation! You are indulging in a mistake. No seal is on our lips, no fetter on our hands. Though you may fly from one pillar to another for security, and trust now in one refuge of lies, and anon in another, you will assuredly be defeated at last for the God of the oppressed, and the father of the fatherless, and the judge of the widow, is fighting with us. The captain of salvation is our leader, our shield the shield of faith, our weapons the two-edged sword of the Spirit, to wit, the truth of God; and we fear not. All your efforts, brethren, are in vain. You may enact gag laws to silence us, but the law of God removes them. You may next resort to slaughter, and we are ready for the worst, feeling assured that if God permit such an event, it will be for the glory of his name and the more speedy deliverance of the captive; for our ghosts will haunt you by night and by day, and with greater force press upon your ears the unwelcome truth; yea, every drop of martyred blood will prove as seed to multiply abolitionists, faithful and true throughout the land.

Where is the Difference?

It is amusing, and yet truly deplorable, to witness the varied current of popular feeling and opinion on the subject of slavery. One moment it is here, and another there. Then right, and now wrong; but always as fickle, and inconsistent, as the humors of an indulged and petulant girl. The indignation of the whole community is against the crew of the slave-ship, recently arrested in New York. They are considered proper candidates for the vengeance of outraged humanity and justice. And certainly we have no fault to find with the sentence. But all at once, a change is discovered, more palpable than that produced in the hall of festivity, by the appearance of Banquo's ghost. The same individuals who pronounce the slave trade upon the high seas to be piracy, and all concerned in it, as richly deserving the halter,—turn directly around, and defend the men who perpetrate and foster the domestic slave trade, and contend, that while the first is odious, the last is perfectly honorable.

Yet there is the difference in the turpitude of the two acts! We have entirely failed to perceive any, unless it be that the domestic slave trade is the more abominable of the two. And why, we inquire, should the one be sanctified and protected by civil enactment, while the other is reprobated? Are they not alike in their elements and effects? alike subversive of the inalienable rights and freedom of man! Certainly. Then why should not the tyrant of our republic—public opinion—pronounce an equal verdict upon both? Surely, only because it is a tyrant, and makes its own caprice the controller of its actions, instead of sound and unbending principle.—*Cleveland Whig*.

Dr. Fisk's Mill Dam.

SOME time ago, an article went the rounds of the newspapers, purporting to be an extract from an argument against immediate emancipation, by the Rev. Dr. Fisk of—where? I always lack the bumps of verbal memory—but, I am sure, an officer in some one of the New England colleges. The article might never have come again to mind, had it not been lately called up in a fireside argument. The complacency with which the antagonist of immediate emancipation, availed himself of it, as if an irresistible nonplus; and the editorial smirking, which I recollect to have accompanied it through its newspaper travels, induced me to look into it—at least, so far as to see whether it was an unapproachable catenast, or, whether it was the mud dam of a winter's thaw, to attack which, needed the dexterity of a steersman, or faculty than the memory of boyish sports. I remember to have heard Dr. Fisk preach some years ago. He is an eloquent and ingenious man; and whether in writing or speaking, his comparisons are always attractive and plausible. No mode of reasoning is more apt to deceive both author and reader than such specious comparisons. Let us examine. I have not the article before me, but must quote from memory. But the extract, to which I have alluded, reads, if not verbatim, at least, substantially, as follows:—

"Suppose you have a mill dam, which has overflowed your neighbor's lands above it. You are injuring your neighbor. 'You ought,' say the abolitionists, 'to stop injuring him immediately.' Is it then your duty to tear away your mill dam, at once, and let the accumulated waters sweep away the corn-fields and fences and herds on the adjacent farms of your neighbors below?"

Yes, Dr. Fisk, tap it this moment, only take care to tap it in the natural channel, and there is no danger; you need not wait a minute. The corn below will still grow, and the herds will graze on, and the

waters will run by them as innocuous, as if you should wait till after harvest.

In this figure the Dr. doubtless means the waters shall represent the slaves—the mill dam, the system of slavery—the cornfields and cattle, the freemen. His comparison is either on account of the analogy between the two classes of subjects, or merely for the sake of illustration. If he discovers similitude enough between the two classes of subjects to deduce from it an analogical argument, I have no more to say. But if the Doctor intends the comparison merely for illustration, then let us carry it out.

Suppose, Dr. Fisk, your mill dam has effectually stopped the water, and dried up the whole channel of the stream, so that the very moss is parched to a crust upon the rocks. Suppose your farmers below, had, with most scrupulous and provident thrift, tilled the very banks clean down to the worn and dusty pebbles. Suppose the dam has stood a long while, the subtle and restless fluid is even oozing through the mound that confines it; and ever and anon, wearing here and there a leak, which, just like the letting out of waters, grows suddenly large, and the element rushes through in a torrent, and the whole neighborhood is often rallied to come and help stop the leak. Suppose, however, the pond continues to accumulate, and the fissures in the dam continue to multiply, and the waters are clamorously gurgling through in new and wider crevices from end to end; till the rottenness of the whole pile, and the great accumulation of water above, keep the neighborhood below in continual alarm, lest, at dead of night, it should break forth and sweep every cottage and field and beast, and whirl them in its maddening fury, into one mixed and undistinguishable ruin.

Suppose, from the stagnant waters of the pond a putrid malaria arises, shedding direful pestilence upon all the inhabitants around; enervating their constitution, tinging every complexion, age after age, with a sallow jaundice, till a great proportion of their offspring come to be of a dingy mulatto color. Suppose, these inhabitants have grown up with the superstitious notion, that a few lean and miserable eels and tortoises, which are caught in the stagnant pools about the pond, are the only remedy for the feebleness and disease, which the pestiferous exhalations produce. Suppose their superstition leads them to fancy their soups, made from these squalid reptiles, are a much more delicate and refined sort of living than any of their neighbors enjoy; and puffed up with these haughty notions, they are always suspicious that their neighbors are enviously plotting to tear away the mill dam, and let off the waters with the reptiles that inhabit them. Suppose, peevish with disease and effeminacy, and insolent with their supercilious notions of fancied high living, the neighborhood are always quarrelling about paying the quota of their taxes, and more than once get together and make long speeches about their reserved rights, and declare themselves irresponsible to the established laws of the government; and this course of things comes to such a pass, that their townsmen find it impossible to live peaceably with them. Suppose, moreover, some of the people below the dam, prone as some people always are, to imitate the customs of those who style themselves great, begin to think it very fine to dine occasionally on turtle soup, and mimic some other customs of the enervate lordlings above the dam. They open a commerce with some of their fishermen. They imitate all the bilious jealousy of their correspondents, and if they hear anybody admire, or wish their neighbors above the mill dam would open it and let the polluted waters flow off, they always say, "Why, it would sweep away our cornfields, our houses, our flocks and herds, and whelm us all in destruction." In vain are they told, that the dam may be opened into the natural channel, so that the waters would flow off just as if no dam had ever been made—that both the great danger of its breaking out in some other place, where it must inevitably wash away all before it, and the mortal sickness and incessant feuds, which it now causes, are become intolerable. The jealousy increases from year to year, till they become so extremely techy, that if one from the neighboring hills comes down among them, their jaundiced faces are always in a snarl; and if they chance to see him going towards the mill dam, they run together and throw stones at him, and cast mud and dirt in the air.

Meanwhile, the dam is growing more and more rotten, and the waters, at every freshet, eddy out in foundations over the solid ground above, and settling down, form new and unfathomable morasses, till the whole tract, far and wide, shakes at every tread of the passenger, and hangs in manifest and instantaneous danger of sinking beneath the adjacent and undermining waters.

In this imminent jeopardy of the inhabitants above and below, Dr. Fisk, what would you recommend? The dam may break away, any moment, when the whole flood must pour inevitably down upon the inhabitants below—the whole territory may be undermined above, and all its tenants remedilessly engulfed. The putrescent exhalations of the pond, are spreading disease and death all along its borders. The inhabitants have long been growing more careless of their fate, and becoming daily more willing to incur any risk for the sake of enjoying their self-complacent and fantastic prerogative of eating their miserable pittance of turtle soup.

Amidst all this peril would you say, wait till after harvest—or would you not rather recommend to the inhabitants, both on the borders and on the hills, above and below, to those who live on fresh turtles at the pond, and to their imitators, who eat theirs half putrid at a distance, would you not recommend to one and all, to agree with united effort, to make an opening in the dam, where the water may pass harmlessly down the old and wonted channel, which was fixed in nature by nature's God?

Thus far the argument, like the passage it has been reviewing, has been the sport of fancy. One or two serious thoughts and I have done.

Any attempt to illustrate the case of the slaves by comparing them with any unintelligent beings, must be a failure. You might as well attempt to measure time with a yardstick. The two things are incomparable. The damage of overflowing land may be repaired either in an equivalent of money now, or an obligation to be paid hereafter. But what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? The slightest injury to that, is irreparable.—*Advocate of Human Rights.*

How Slavery was Forced upon America.

A CORRESPONDENT writes—"It is an assertion so constantly made, that Great Britain laid the foundation of slavery in these United States, by the introduction of blacks, that it is now the undisputed opinion of almost every man throughout America. This is apparently founded on tradition, but not on truth, if the statement of the earliest historian of Virginia is to be accredited. That gentleman (Beverly—2d. ed. 1722, p. 35), affirms, that 'In August following (1690) a Dutch man-of-war landed twenty negroes for sale; which were the first of that kind that were carried into the country.' Their purchase appears, therefore, to have been a voluntary act of our own, and, by no means, forced upon us by the mother country. Let the saddle then be placed on the right horse, and let us remember that truth is sacred, even if it militates against ourselves. England has, with all her glory and renown, a sufficiency of evil to answer for, without unduly loading her with that of others."—*Philanthropist.*

Be not too cautious in discerning the fit object of thy charity, lest a soul perish through thy discretion; what thou givest to mistaken want, shall return a blessing to thy deceived heart; better in relieving idleness to commit an accidental evil, than in neglecting misery to omit one essential good; better two dimes be preserved, than one bee perish.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

COMMUNICATIONS.

DEAR BROTHERS!—The following lines were written by a colored female residing in Philadelphia. I ought to have said *young lady*, even at the risk of exciting a sneer in certain dough-faces; for her whole deportment bears testimony to the fact that she is truly such. We have here another proof of the folly of the assertion which ignorance and prejudice, united, have attempted to palm upon the world; viz.—that the colored race are incapable of intellectual and moral elevation.

The Grave of the Slave.

Tax cold storms of winter shall chill him no more,
His cares and his sorrows, his pains are all o'er,
The sod of the valley now covers his form,
He is safe in his last home, and fears not the storm.

The poor slave is laid, all unheeded and lone,
Where the rich and the poor find a permanent home;
No master can raise him, with voice of command,
He knows not, he hears not, his cruel demand.

Not a tear, not a sigh, to embalm his cold tomb,
No friend to lament him, no child to bemoan;
Not a stone marks the place, where he peacefully lies,
The earth for his pillow, his curtain the skies.

Poor slave! shall we sorrow that death was thy friend?
The last and the kindest that Heaven could send:
The grave to the weary is welcome and blest,
And death to the captive is freedom and rest.

SARAH LOUISA.

A Prayer.

FATHER, we lift the suppliant eye,
To where thou reign'st above;
We feel that thou canst not deny
The children of thy love.

Unshaken faith, unwavering trust,
Are all that we can bring;
We are thy children, though in dust,
To thee we dare to cling.

We know that thou wilt not forsake
The poor and trembling slave;
For him the blessed Saviour spake;
And him he came to save.

We feel the chains that bind us all,
And bend us to man's will;
But can they hold our souls enthral'd,
Or bid our voice be still?

No—for thy power is all supreme,
Thy word shall yet stand firm;
And master and the slave shall e'en
To thee for mercy turn.

SARAH LOUISA.

MR. EDITOR:—It has been asked, by those who would screen the church from censure, whether "abolitionism may not be true, and yet the church sincerely judge it to be false?" We would reply,—has not the sound of abolition gone out through the whole country? Does it not assume to be christian in principle, christian in means, christian in object? Has the church generally, carefully and candidly examined, whether the assumption be well or ill founded? Has she not rather placed her ban upon a free investigation of the subject, from a vague apprehension, that discussion would endanger the peace and union of her members? All will admit, that the church may be mistaken; still we behold her wrapping herself about in the mantle of indifference, and closing her eyes upon the very light that might reveal her error. Is there purity of principle in this? Or does not such conduct plainly indicate, that she has exalted *Peace* to the highest seat, and is willing to pass by the weightier matters of the law,—Truth, Judgment, and the Love of God? Where love of truth presides, there will the avenues of knowledge be unlocked and free, that, by means of the information therein entering, the soul may the more readily frame unerring and lofty decisions, whether in relation to belief or action. It is falsehood that loves darkness; timidity or indolence that courts repose, where there should be action.

Our blessed Redeemer made his advent, announcing himself as the promised Messiah. In proof of this claim, he referred the Jews to the Scriptures—"they are they which testify of me." He courted investigation—he demanded that his assumptions should be tested by the revelation in which they believed. Was not the demand a fair one? Was not the obligation to such an examination undeniable? But why was it undeniable? Plainly, because their *might* be truth in the assumption. The man, who now rejects abolitionism, without a full and reasonable examination of its claims, if he had lived in the days of the Messiah, would, most likely, have taken his stand with the scribes and pharisees, who loved darkness rather than light—who would not come unto the Saviour that they might have life—who exclaimed, "What do we for this man doeth many miracles. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him; and the Romans will come and take away both our place and nation." Consider the motive, that not only made them reject the light, but moved them also to take away by force the light from others:—*the quiet—the safety of their church and nation!* No doubt they imagined this a noble motive: but are we prepared to justify them? No mark—I do not say, that the man who rejects abolitionism after full and reasonable examination, would have acted, under similar circumstances, in this way. It is he who decides *before* such examination, that subjects himself to such a suspicion.

What is the object of church-fellowship? It is two-fold. 1st. the mutual edification of believers in the faith of the gospel: 2d. the regeneration of the world by gospel effort. Christians, circumscribing their views on this subject, and perhaps, influenced too much by that selfishness, which is prone to exaggerate everything that is exclusively personal, seem in many instances, to believe, that their only business on earth is, to keep their garments unspotted from the world, and save their own souls. Thank God! christianity is not so selfish in its spirit. Making full provision for personal security, it teaches its votary to abound in benevolence. The Redeemer, when he founded his church, designed it to be, not a monopoly of good things, for a select few; but a storehouse, to replenish the nations with

the rich fruits of grace—an ever-springing fountain, whose streams should make glad the wilderness of this world.

Keeping in mind then this truth, that the church is the grand agent of God in emancipating a world enthralled by Satan,—and connecting it with the fact, that the empire of sin still abounds,—we come at once to the conclusion, that *peace* is not the condition, nor the attribute, of the church militant. Our Saviour "came not to send peace upon earth, but a sword,"—that is, to proclaim principles, which, being embraced by some and rejected by others, should inevitably be the occasion of disquiet, tumult, and persecution. Love of peace is too easily transmuted into an effeminate fondness for inaction. The church ought not to forget, that she is to stand clad in the panoply of truth, ready at all times to wield the sword of the Spirit. If she now enjoys quiet, it is only because the prominent forms of evil she once assailed, are prostrate before her. Her peace stands not in *compromise*, but in *victory*. Let her forget this, and hold truce with the enemy—let her compromise,—and the arm of her strength is broken. She should be the image of her God; but God has no fellowship with Satan;—light and darkness dwell not together. Let her remember then, that the spirit of sin still survives. He has not yet been laid hold on, by the angel, and bound hand and foot. Nay: availing himself of her inaction, he has been going to and fro in the earth, deceiving nations. Whilst she has been slumbering, rapidly has he evolved himself under forms huge and terrific, which now lift their brazen front throughout our land, speaking great swelling words against the Most High. The giant sins of Drunkenness and Slavery now erect themselves before the awakening spirit of the church. Awakening, I say; for the church, thanks be unto God! is shaking off its slumbers:—and is arising, "terrible as an army with banners." Already has she grappled with Intemperance, which cannot long withstand the putting forth of her power; and the time rapidly rolls onward, when she shall shout aloud, and lift her hand against the Foullest Foe that has ever polluted christian lands. And who are they, that would interdict this noble enterprise? They are those who prefer numbers to purity, union to truth, peace to the favor of God; and those who, in the times of repose and popular favor, have crept into the church of the living God from crooked motives, and would substitute for the mind and maxims of Christ, the mind and maxims of a vain world; and lastly, those, who without guile I am glad to believe, though under misapprehension, still keep a'loof from a cause, whose merits they have not perhaps yet fully appreciated.

And here, I would dwell a moment. We know, that in seasons of prosperity, when no opprobrium attaches to him, who takes upon him the profession of Christ, may enter the church from motives of interest, or because it is fashionable, or regarded decorous, or because their parents are members, or for some other reason, equally irrespective of religion. Now, let a great moral question agitate the community,—directly these members range themselves on the popular side, whether that be right or wrong. The genuine members of Christ's body, abhorring schism and internal discussions, are apt tacitly to acquiesce for a time. And indeed, should some of them make an independent movement on the subject, the worldly members become so violent in their opposition, that the members of the real church, attributing such violence to the nature of the subject rather than to the character of these carnal professors, shrink fearfully from all investigation.

This, then, is what I wish to say. The discussion of any moral or religious question never endangers the peace of a church, because there is in the *subject itself*, any tendency to discord or disunion; but because the *church is corrupt*; because there are two classes within its pale,—one drawing its principles of belief and maxims of conduct from the Bible; the other, regulating both its belief and actions, by the maxims of a crooked and perverse generation. Such is the fact at this time in our own churches. The agitation of great moral questions is calculated to reveal and distinguish these classes. So, the temperance cause has acted in a certain degree; and for my own part, I cannot but believe, that abolitionists will be far more abundantly productive of such a result. It is not possible, that two such opposite classes shall long exist within the same pale. Carnal professors must either abandon their false gods and come over to the side of truth, or else with all their iniquities about them, go out to their own place. When this shall have been accomplished, then shall the church, redeemed from her thralldom to popular fear and favor, morally control the world. Eret, then, in her purity, who will be able to tell the measure of her power against all the forms of "wrong and outrage with which earth is filled?" Let us rejoice then, an equal God still dwells in his sanctuary; and it is He, who through the sanctified influences of his church, will yet break every yoke, and reveal the outbeamings of his glorious countenance, to every creature that he has made. Let not then any church fold its hands in this day of religious and moral effort, lest God should remove his Shekinah from her temple. The church of Christ has no right to look for peace, until sin cease from the earth, and this world be filled with the truth, love, and purity of God. Peace, till then can only be achieved by a sacrifice of the *principles* on which she is based. Her foundation is a never-ceasing, uncompromising opposition to sin under all its varied forms; the rock of its strength, a truceless, an everlasting, exterminative warfare against all the powers and influences of darkness.

[We cannot restrain an expression of the pleasure we feel, and the encouragement we derive from such testimonies as the following. It is, as we understand, from a lady, a mother in Israel, who, although personally unknown to us, is spoken of with the praise of all who enjoy the pleasure of her acquaintance; not only for her amiableness and piety, but for having consecrated her useful powers to advancing every enterprise of mercy. We greatly desire to see our female friends take an active part in the

great work of mercy to the oppressed. Why should they not? Is it not heart and mind that we want? And do they not possess them? They do, and their earnest co-operation is wanted;—nay, it is necessary—indispensable.]—*Ed. Philan.*

MR. EDITOR:—I wish to express to you the great satisfaction I have enjoyed, in reading the letter of Gerrit Smith, Esq., addressed to Gov. Marcy, of New York, and published in the *Philanthropist*, particularly that part of it relating to the subject of the pictures. As I have been almost assailed for a few months past, by several respectable friends with the objection, that *pictures were sent to the south to excite the negroes to insurrection*—a very formidable objection (as they considered it) against the proceedings of the abolitionists,—I had a peculiar gratification in reading this part of Mr. S.'s letter. I have first demonstrated that they were not sent to the slaves, but on being constantly told, that some slaves might chance to see them, through the medium of their free colored friends, I have replied, that I could not imagine, how a *picture* of their miseries could be expected to produce so alarming an effect upon them, when they are constantly familiar with the sad realities they represent; and that I should rather judge, could they see and understand the thing, this thought might produce a consoling effect upon their feelings that the report of their unhappy case had reached Marcy's ear and produced this expression of sympathy in their behalf. For my own part, the pictures were to me at first very disagreeable, almost amounting to an objection to reading the publications which accompanied them; yet, so great was the general apathy of feeling for the condition of the poor slaves, that I hoped they might do good, by exciting sympathy and compassion; and that this would call up attention to the subject,—knowing that with many people, the way to their understanding lies through their heart. Having added much more to little effect, feeling my own insufficiency, I have trusted to the goodness of the cause, and believing it founded on the precepts of our Lord and Saviour, which must prevail, and on the principles of his kingdom to be set up in men's hearts.

I have constantly looked to God in earnest prayer, that he would bless the labors of his servants, who have undertaken to plead the cause of his oppressed ones, and that he would bring forward efficient laborers into this great field; and when I hear constantly of men of eminent virtue and talents coming forward, risking their reputation and their all, in face of the whole world, to plead for the practice as well as the profession of truth and justice, I thank God and take courage. Great is the force of truth, when pressed upon the conscience, by such able advocates; and I even venture to hope our guilty nation may yet be spared, and the dark clouds of God's judgments which seem to be gathering around us may be turned away, in mercy. I beg leave to say, I have found constant cause of joy and thankfulness in perusing the pages of the *Philanthropist*, which I waited for with great anxiety. ***** I envy not the feelings of Judge Wright under your review, more than those of Gov. Marcy.

I venerate the man, who will venture his exertions in an unpopular cause, from the convictions of truth with no sinister motive. The spirit manifested in the answer to the Athens committee, of Alabama, also in the circular to the churches, is what I wish to see adopted by all. O that preachers of the gospel, and professors of the gospel, would take this stand and call upon professors, everywhere, to come up to the high standard of their profession, and free the church from these abominations,—how can they refuse to hear the expostulating voice of a brother, calling upon them in kindness yet in the majesty of the truth, to cease from oppressing the helpless, to cease from withholding the light of the gospel (which bringeth salvation,) the blessings of education, and all the free bounties of heaven, from all under their care? How powerful would be the influence which would flow out to the whole world!

The only apology I can offer, for troubling you with these remarks, is the assurance of the deep interest I feel in the cause you are engaged in. A cause which, from my early youth, I have entered into, with all the ardor of feeling my nature is possessed of. When but a child, my attention was called to the subject by reading in my school-books, the speeches of William Pitt in the British Parliament, in favor of the abolition of the African slave trade, and I believe my heart then yielded to him a greater tribute of gratitude and admiration than it has to any other whose works I have since read. I thought he stood alone in the cause of humanity. I raised my supplicating thoughts to heaven, as the refuge of the slave, and now I rejoice in the glorious result, of that small beginning in the righteous cause in that empire. Could I hope to live to see freedom and equal rights extended to all throughout my country; "all ranked as men, and men's free rights enjoyed"—I think I should not much regard any sufferings or trials which might await me, in my short journey to the grave. Oh, this is an object worth living for—worth dying for. Go on in the strength of the Lord. He is your rock and your defence. Glory to his great name. He has given us assurance in his word, that the principles of his righteous government shall extend and prevail, until they fill the whole earth, and by them shall all the heavy burdens be undone, and the broken-hearted be bound up forever, and then shall all your sacrifices and toils be rewarded with fullness of joy.

P. M. P.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW RICHMOND, OHIO, MARCH 11, 1836.

The Cincinnati Preamble and Resolutions.

NUMBER IV.

TO JOHN C. WRIGHT, ESQ.—

IN the first number of my remarks on the preamble and resolutions, I gave the reasons which led me to believe, that you were the *author* of them. A stricter examination of them—a fuller discovery, not only of their unsoundness, but of their gross deficiency in consistency, has convinced me, that the authorship of them belongs to another and a very inferior mind; or that the public have been in strange error as to your own claims to its distinction. The first conclusion I do not hesitate to adopt. However, the part you acted in the meeting in reference to their adoption—your deliberate yet earnest recommendation of them—while it confers on you all the rights and claims of a foster-mother, makes you equally with the framers of them, a transgressor of the great principles of freedom which they assail. On this ground it is, that I

shall still continue to address my remarks on the remainder of the resolutions to you.

The resolution immediately succeeding the one last considered is in these words:—

"Resolved, That while we approve and advocate upon all subjects the toleration of individual freedom of speech and opinion, yet we feel constrained to deprecate the formation of such societies as lead manifestly to an infringement, if not a destruction of the *federal compact*. And that while every good citizen is obligated to resist confederacies of this description, they do most solemnly condemn the abolition association in all its branches as necessarily conducive to such results."

This tissue of detestable principles, fitted only for the despots of Europe or of our southern states, you were not satisfied to submit in the ordinary way to the intelligence of your fellow-citizens,—but in the full flush of your supposed victory over the constitutional rights of a portion of them, you order it to be dispatched to the Senators and Representatives in Congress from this state, that it might be laid before the national legislature. Not content with this, the members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the legislature of Ohio—and Governor Lucas too, are to be taught the language, to be informed of the claims, and to be indoctrinated into the principles of slaveholders. This surely would seem to be enough—but it is not all. Further manifestations of disregard of the institutions of freedom—and of ready subservience to the institutions of slavery were given—(if we are correctly informed,) by the printing of this resolution, with its associates, on the finest and most delicate letter paper this city could furnish, and their abundant transmission to the most distinguished slaveholders who are now, in their *official* places, in the most public acts, almost daily insulting those sections of our country which have thus far barred against the introduction among themselves of the "system" of the south, or which will not uphold and encourage her in her iniquity. It is scarcely to be doubted that to Governor McDuffie, the leader of the slavists has been duly honored with this delicate memento of the triumph of his doctrines among freemen, and of the eager friendship (not to say servility) of those who have fully embraced them here.

Although the resolution is most awkwardly and clumsily put together—almost as if he who drafted it was ashamed or afraid to speak out, fully, the wishes of his mind—yet, we do not despair of arriving at its true meaning.

In the outset, you approve and advocate upon all subjects, the toleration of individual freedom of speech and opinion. Permit me to say, sir, this language is altogether unusual in this country, when applied to the rights in controversy. Our constitutions, our laws, (if yet we have them,) know no such word as "*toleration*"—it is not to be found in the vocabulary of republican freemen. Toleration means something that is *allowed* or *permitted* to us by another.

The Protestant religion is *tolerated* in many of the Catholic countries of Europe; the Catholic, in England—that is they are *permitted* or *allowed*. The rights of conscience are taken into the hands of the government—and the use of them doled out, as may best suit their convenience. In all the monarchies of Europe, even the most tyrannical, the freedom of the press, and of speech too, are *tolerated*—that is, they are *permitted* so far as suits the convenience or views of the tyrants, and no farther. Gov. McDuffie and his associates would have no objection to the same toleration of the freedom of speech here. You and they could have no discrepancy of wishes and opinion on this subject. But how tame and spiritless such language—we *approve* and *advocate toleration*, &c., when compared with that of our constitution—"the right to speak on all subjects whatever, as we please, is *indisputable*." There is no toleration here, sir, nor, before the anti-abolition meeting of Cincinnati, was there any one, who claimed power to *tolerate* or to grant *permission* to the citizens of Ohio to use, as should be prescribed to them the freedom of speech and of discussion.

But you do not extend your toleration to the freedom of speech and of opinion generally—you have narrowed it down to "*individuals*." This, by any sensible rule of construction, especially when taken in connexion with the context, must mean that each citizen *alone*, and by himself shall be tolerated in the freedom of speech and opinion. Truly an inestimable privilege! In its enjoyment each one of us may, without interruption, be free to go out of the hearing of every one else; and harangue for our own edification as long as our lungs will enable us. The trees or the cattle in the fields may be our auditors—and there shall be no one to make us afraid—a great blessing this for freemen!

Further, this toleration is not to extend to *societies*. Now, if men cannot speak to one another, if they cannot associate, the value of the powers of speech can easily be calculated. What would you think sir, if the abolitionists should hold a meeting and resolve that they *approve* and *advocate the toleration* to John C. Wright, Esq. of individually practicing his profession,—but as for the courts—the societies of judges, jurors, sheriffs, witnesses, &c. &c., they were to be utterly deprecate—that is, not to be tolerated. What would you think of such toleration! And yet this is the kind you propose granting to us as citizens of Ohio, when you would rest sin us from speaking in societies or public assemblies.

What sir, is a *society*? It is the "companying together" of men who have a common object to accomplish. And do you come out in condemnation of *societies*? you, who are a member of a political "corresponding committee"—which is nothing more nor less than a *society*!—you who are a member of political "executive committee," made up of some three or four hundred members, (which is also a *society*)—and when too, the very meeting at which you passed the resolutions now under consideration, was formally and effectually to all intents and purposes, as fully a *society* as any of those that are called "*anti-slavery*." Had you not your President—your four Vice-Presidents—your three Secretaries—and your Executive Committee of fifteen! And had you not your lecturers too? Were not the Hon. (now Gen.) Lytle—and Col. Hale, of Fifth street, and yourself, the Hon. John C. Wright, in all points of view, lecturers in favor of slavery—advocating its perpetuation, not only in the south, where you have moral power, but in the District of Columbia, where you can exercise both moral and political power? Certainly this office was executed by you, and judging from the result of the meeting, with very flattering success. And, you three gentlemen, Gen. Lytle, Col. Hale, and Judge Wright, leaders in conducting the business of the meeting, were just as fully members of a *society* for the perpetuation of slavery, as are Arthur Tappan, William Jay, and Gerrit Smith, members of a society for its destruction.

Ah, but you may reply, there is a wide difference—the Anti-Slavery Societies "lead manifestly to the infringement, if not, to the destruction of the *federal compact*."

will not deny, that you are entirely sincere in this opinion. On the other hand, we deny that so far from leading manifestly to this event, the extermination of slavery necessary to the preservation of the federal compact. Our sincerity in this belief is to be tried—we offer as proof, the multiplied and painful persecutions to which you have subjected us, and our still persisting in it without the hope of any reward, except the pleasures of a good conscience set off against all the afflictions we suffer from the advocates of slavery.

And is it a position taken by a lawyer—by one, too, who stands on the high grounds of professional fame—that the exercise of a right deemed essential to the symmetry as well to the life of the federal compact, has any tendency to destroy the body of which it is a part? You might, with equally as sound philosophy, assert, that the exercise of our natural members for the purposes they were designed to subserve, tends to the destruction of our bodies and to the extinction of life. No, sir: it is such societies as yours, that have a manifest tendency to the destruction of the federal compact. You, it is, who propose to the surgeon about laying open an imposthume near the region of the heart—one which is corrupting the very blood which is our life—that, instead of attacking the imposthume, he should commence the amputating process, by first removing the soundest limbs of the body—and should insist, that in proportion to their soundness and vigor, should be the order in which they should be removed. Such a position assumed before a court and jury, would be disreputable to a tyro in making his first effort at the bar. With what face can a distinguished expounder of constitution and laws rest any part of a most important cause on such a sandy foundation?

Can it be possible, sir, that the meeting together of persons who hold as very precious the deep-laid principles of liberty; that the bare talking of their excellency; that the mere discussing of the best means of getting rid of slavery, acknowledged on all hands, till lately, to be an evil which must, if undisturbed, bring desolation on our land—can it be possible, I say, sir, that a society with such objects, with such means, with such patriotic and intelligent materials as its possessors, have any tendency to "infringe or destroy" the very compact by which it is protected?—While one like yours, gotten up to reiterate principles at war with its principles—to recommend doctrines hostile to its doctrines; to extend and establish slavery instead of confirming liberty; to batter down the liberty of the press, and to convert the right to speak and think as we please, into a mere "toleration" to be extended at the will of those who act with a view of satisfying the little despots of the south—can such a society as this, I say, preserve and perpetuate it? Any compact which calls on such principles and such practices for its support, is not such a compact as our patriotic forefathers intended to make for us, or such an one as any friend of liberty ought to desire to see perpetuated.

But I have not yet thoroughly probed all the rottenness of this resolution—it declares that "every good citizen is obligated to resist confederacies of this description," and "most solemnly condemns the abolition association in all its branches as necessarily conducive to such results." How, sir, are the abolitionists to be resisted? By argument—discussion!—this is what they want. If they are in the wrong, reason and argument can set them right. The more palpable an error, the easier, if we be honest, to correct it. But will any one so translate this part of the resolution, that it shall intend only—to "resist" error with truth? That peaceable means were the only means contemplated? No one who was present at the meeting could be deceived, as to what was intended. And indeed, sir, it was a sight fitted to excite in a patriotic mind, more of sorrow than of anger, to see such as you, and others whom I could name, but will not, calmly listening to, sitting by, and calmly endorsing all the rudeness and obsequy of that night, together with this call on the disorderly, to prostrate the laws by the resistance, with which it was meant to put down the abolitionists. That this was the construction put on it by some who ought to be considered good authority, it is by no means difficult to demonstrate—for it was not ten days afterward, that one of the dough-face editors of Cincinnati, (the Republican) openly took the ground that, if abolitionists could not be put down peaceably, they must be put down forcibly.

I will not dwell longer on this part of the subject. It is unpleasant—enough to make the friend of his country weep, to behold, in her most favored sons, the most determined foes. That you may be brought to see the error into which you have been betrayed—and to atone, so far as you may be able, for the trespass you have committed on the sacred cause of freedom, is my most earnest wish.

Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society.

This society, at its regular quarterly meeting in January, determined to meet once a month, for some time to come, for the purpose of hearing lectures and discussions on the subject of slavery and emancipation. The meeting in January was held without giving any public notice of it. Afterward, the proceedings were published in one of the city papers. The fact of there being such a society in Cincinnati, and of its having met, however privately, threw into rage and consternation two of the city journals, that have been the most uniformly faithful in upholding the south in her assaults on our liberties. The toxin of insurrection against the laws was sounded. Many worthy citizens and respectable men, carried away by the noise and clamor of these slaveholding champions, consented to the call of the anti-abolition meeting held in this city in January.

In consequence of the agitation which had thus been gotten up by the opponents of liberty for the enslaved, as well as the constitutional rights of their own fellow-citizens who were yet free, it was deemed prudent by the Anti-Slavery Society, to omit holding its meeting in February.

Preparations, however, were made for holding the meeting appointed for March. The school-house of Mr. Kinnmont, the use of which Mr. K. had politely granted to the society, (though not a member himself,) at its first meeting, was thought, from its exposed situation, to be too much exposed to the rage of mobocracy. It was found difficult to obtain any other place to hold the meeting. At length the trustees of one of the churches, (though but one of these gentlemen was an abolitionist) with honorable liberality, granted to the society, the use of a comfortable and convenient room in their basement story. The meeting was appointed for last Tuesday evening. To remove all objection, no public notice of the meeting was given—the members of the society privately inviting their friends, who it was supposed would be willing to hear discussion, and if they should think proper, to participate in it.

Things were in this posture, when, during the forenoon of Tuesday, the mayor of the city informed the trustees

of the church, that he had been told, should the meeting be held, as was contemplated, that there would be a disturbance—that one person, who, according to his account, was of the "baser sort," could enlist many of the disorderly, had declared, "as sure as there was a God in heaven, any such meeting would be broken up."

It was said further by the mayor, that if any attempt at disturbance should be made, all efforts to quell it would be vain, on his part, for he did not know the first man upon whom he could call, on such an occasion, to assist him.

The trustees considering—and rightly as we think—that they ought not—after such a notice from an officer whose business it is to suppress open violence and disorder, and to protect all the citizens in their rights—to jeopard, in any degree, property which belonged to the whole congregation, signified, in the most friendly and polite terms, their desire that the Anti-Slavery Society would not avail itself of the privilege of using the room already promised for the evening. As to this, there was an entire harmony of opinion and feeling between the trustees and the executive committee of the society,—and the meeting in the church was given up.

It was determined however, not to omit the meeting, as lecturers had been provided, and notice had been pretty extensively given to many,—who, although not members of the society, were yet friends to the freedom of speech, and to the right of discussion; and who, beside this, were desirous of hearing the reasons, as given by abolitionists themselves, in support of the enterprise in which they are engaged. A member of the society, at once proffered the use of his dwelling house. Here, the meeting was held—and addresses were delivered by two of the members, to as many gentlemen and ladies as could conveniently be accommodated in the front and back parlors. Judging from the number present under such circumstances,—had our original arrangement remained uninterrupted—the audience would have been unusually large, for such an occasion. Some of the gentlemen present, at the close of the meeting, united with the society, which now numbers, we believe, between seventy and eighty.

We cannot forbear offering a few reflections. It seems strange, that the mayor did not have the individual, who made threats, arrested at once, and bound over to keep the peace. If this officer is uninformed of the power, conferred on him by law, of binding over, on proper evidence, those who seriously menace the public peace,—we can say, and this too, after no small experience in such matters, and without the fear of hazarding an erroneous opinion, that his investiture is complete.

It is strange that an officer, whose chief business is, to protect the rights of the citizens against violence, should in consequence of the menace of a single individual, be induced to declare his total inability to take a single step in the discharge of this duty. Every man in the city, transient or settled, is a part of the posse, or force which the law of the land puts under his control for the protection of the public peace. For this officer to say that, in a population of 31,000 or 32,000, there are none disposed to uphold him in his efforts to prevent the laws from utter prostration, is, to heap upon the city a character as highly infamous, as we believe it to be utterly unmerited.

Ought not the advocates of good order, the upholders of legal supremacy, to see to this matter? Let it be once set down, that a mob is to govern in any case, and it will soon govern in all cases. Let its right to reign under any circumstances be acknowledged, and it will soon take under its jurisdiction everything against which its malignity may be directed. The process by which it extends its power from cases of individuals to the public—from private edifices to convents, and churches, and banks, and land offices, is a rapid and easy one. Of this, our whole country has had shameful, yet convincing evidence within the last few months.

Something in this matter ought to be done. The city is lying under a charge so infamous, that those who are her true friends ought to attempt her relief. Would it not be well for the friends of the laws, for those who are determined to support their supremacy, to hold a public meeting—that the mayor may be convinced of the injustice he has done, and be encouraged also, to proceed in the proper duties of his office, when any occasion may hereafter demand their exercise? We doubt not such a meeting, calmly and temperately expressing its determination to aid in maintaining the laws of the land, irrespective of the peculiar opinions of those in whose cases they are attempted to be violated, would greatly contribute to subdue the malignant influence so injudiciously aroused by the inconsiderate proceedings of the anti-abolition meeting in January.

The Journal and Luminary.

This paper, in noticing the arrival of Mr. George Thompson in Liverpool, and his intention to attend a public meeting there for the purpose of giving an account of his proceedings in the United States, and the reception he met with, concludes with these words—

"It may well be imagined what an account Mr. Thompson would give of the United States."

The editor of the J. & L. has satisfactory evidence that Mr. Thompson is a Christian by profession, and that he is in good standing in the church to which he is attached. If, from the period of his arrival in this country, or even at any time previous to it, and since he took on him the name of Christian, he has been guilty of improper conduct, let him suffer, we say, the just penalty of public disgrace. He was accused in a single instance of using language inconsistent with his long cherished and avowed principles. That the accusation has not been sustained, is a matter of such notoriety to all who interest themselves in abolition proceedings, that we are not at liberty to presume that the editor of the Journal and Luminary was ignorant of it.

If this be the character Mr. Thompson sustains as a member of the church, can that editor justify himself in insinuating, that Mr. Thompson would give (what certainly there is no occasion for) a fraudulently overcharged account of his proceedings, and of his reception in this country? There is a magnanimity impressed by the gospel of Christ, which makes those under its control as careful not to do injustice to a man in England, any more than if he was looking us in the face in our own offices.

Obituary.

DIED, in New Richmond, on Wednesday evening last, at the house of Mr. Thomas Donaldson, Dr. ISAAC HOVEN, in the 63d year of his age. Dr. H. was a native of Loudon county, Va., and removed with his family to Cincinnati more than twenty years ago. He has resided since that time in this state. Long since, he made a public profession of Christian faith, and in the severe and protracted sufferings of a sick-bed, he was not left without his blessed consolations. In the investigation of impor-

tant subjects, for which his mind was well qualified, he had not omitted that of slavery and emancipation. Although a native of a slave state, he advocated immediate emancipation, not only as a thing entirely practicable, but a duty. In his last illness he had the kind attentions of his children and near friends. Agreeably to his request, made some time before his decease, his body will be taken to Cincinnati, to be interred near that of his wife, from whom he was separated, by her death, about seven years ago.

New Societies.

Maine.

BRIDGTON. John Perley, president.
GORHAM. Daniel Dibley, president.
Charles O. Dibley, secretary.

Massachusetts.

LOWELL, (young men's.) William Hall, president.
Samuel A. Brown, corresponding secretary.
HANOVER. A. G. Duncan, president.
Robert Dickie, secretary.

Connecticut.

GREENVILLE, (ladies.) Mrs. Noah Davis, president.
Miss Elizabeth Kennedy, secretary.

New York.

LITCHFIELD. ARCADE, Greene county. WALKER, Erie county. CLINTON, Madison county. HEBRON, Washington county. W. Z. Wait, president.
Dr. David Martin, secretary.

Pennsylvania.

HARRISBURG, (capital of the state.) Nathan Stern, president.
Samuel Cross, secretary.
DARLINGTON, Beaver county. David Imbrie, president.
George Scott, secretary.

Ohio.

LIVERPOOL, HINKLY, BRUNSWICK, } Medina co.—each from 70 to 80 memb.
EVELAND, Cuyahoga county.—40 members.
DOVER. SHEFFIELD, Lorain county. AKRON, Portage county. MIDDLEBURY, do. GENEVA, (ladies,) Ashtabula. CARLISLE, Lorain county.—40 members
Phineas Johnson, president
Nelson S. Bishop, secretary.
GEORGETOWN, Harrison county.—50 members.
John Hammond, president.
Isaac Lewis, secretary.
WAYNESBURG.—85 members.
John S. Tarr, president.
Wm. Rogers, corresponding secretary.
WELCH HILL, Licking county.—50 members.

Editorial Correspondence.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.—From a gentleman in Huron county, Ohio.—"I design to make further efforts to extend the circulation of the *Philanthropist*. I trust, it will be sustained in all parts of the country. Such a publication is worthy not only of the patronage—not only of the friends of the human race, without respect to color of the skin—but also of the friends of our republican institutions. With some, there seems to be a doubt, as to the relative value of the freedom of the press and the right of discussion—and the system of slavery in the south: whilst others appear already decided, that the first article of the amendments to our national constitution should be entirely blotted out, rather than abolish slavery in this 'land of the free and the home of the brave.' The favor that the latter sentiment finds among many of the political journals of the north, is truly alarming to every friend of the union. The question of the abolition of slavery seems, at this moment, to be merged in one of more immediate and pressing importance—whether the most important constitutional provisions are of any force or validity, when they, or the exercise of the right guaranteed by them, are in the way of the selfishness or ambition of a portion of our fellow-citizens. It is not yet certain, that Congress or any of the legislatures of the northern states, will be disposed to follow the advice of the executive, and abridge the freedom of the press by law. But what is the difference between 'abridging the freedom of the press and of speech,' by legislative enactments, and by a mob of 'most respectable citizens?' The practical results are the same.

I receive you are still threatened by the mob—and the press in your vicinity—with some honorable exceptions. It is needless for me to express a hope that you will not be intimidated."

From Fayette county, Ohio.—"I have the pleasure of again giving you evidence of our increasing sense of the value of your efforts, in favor of the great cause for which you are laboring. [Here follows a list of subscribers.] The great meeting in Cincinnati has done, and will do, much to advance abolitionism."

From Madison county, Ohio.—[After an order for the *Philanthropist*.—"It gives me pleasure to say to you that the good cause progresses with rapid strides in this county. Four township societies have been formed—do wit, in Liverpool, Hinkly, Richfield, and this place, with an average of seventy to eighty members each, and 'numbers daily added.' May the Lord prosper his cause, and may you be abundantly sustained in your noble and arduous undertaking."

From Brown county, Ohio.—[After an order for the *Philanthropist*.—"I have entire confidence that though the storm of persecution may scowl, and lawless men, (under the training of cypriote religious and republican 'newspaper makers') may be let loose, like Apollyon, on the honest-hearted Christian, that there are abolitionists, not a few, who are made of stuff so tempered, that the world will yet be convinced that they are not such 'wreckless, fiend-like men' as some suppose.

"'Wreckless of consequences?' No, surely not: we act in full view of all the consequences; and consequences are the motives which prompt us to action. It is the fearful and ultimate consequences of the continuance of slavery which make a demand on us for action. But with regard to the immediate consequences of promulgating abolitionism, it is said, 'we are wreckless of these.' With regard to this, we are like other men—we have the sense of feeling, but our sense of duty is stronger. But it is said further, 'we are wreckless of the best interests of the slave, otherwise we would have left off before now, seeing we only make his condition worse.' Now this re-

minds me of the anecdote of a maid, who, seeing a mother attempt to pull her child out of the fire with the tongs, (for the want of other means,) cried out with much emphasis, 'dear ma'am, don't do so, let it alone; you'll pinch the poor thing.' Now it appears to me prodigiously strange, that the maid whose feelings were so exquisitely fine that she could not see the child pinched a little, would at the same time, sit calmly, and see it burn to death."

From Clarksville, Ohio.—Having a little time, I spend it in writing to you. I have been engaged in lecturing, a little more than a month. The opposition in most places is very bitter. The ——— in particular, as a body, are zealous in opposing the truth. I heard, a few days ago, a most singular and amusing speech in reply to one of my lectures. To condemn the abolitionists, he, [the speaker,] essayed to trace them to their origin. After warning the people not to be alarmed or startled, he announced the astounding fact, that the father of the abolitionists was John Calvin! He then traced them down, through the Puritans, who hung witches and banished quakers; the old federal Tories; the Unitarian and Orthodox discussions; the Hartford convention; the New Haven divinity; the anti-masons; the whigs of the present day—and the abolitionists!! This he called 'letting the cat out of the bag.'

"In Wakeman, the truth was completely triumphant, though the opposition was extremely bitter. A society was formed which now consists of 70 members. In Fitchville, formed a society of 50 members—will probably be doubled soon. In Wellington, formed a society of 50 members—will be considerably increased. I find that all who will attend the lectures and listen with any degree of candor, are convinced of the truth of abolition principles."

From Logan county, Ohio.—"I send you \$—, wishing you patronage and success in your truly philanthropic undertaking. And, sir, I trust you will find your hands strengthened, not only by patronage or good wishes, but by the prayers of the *Aarons* and the *Huras*, which will sustain you in the faithful maintenance of the cause of God and oppressed humanity. 'The prayers which move the hand that moves the world,' will be your support—and these you will have.

[The writer here gives an account of the organization of an anti-slavery society in his neighborhood.] "It was organized Jan. 1, and will number about thirty or forty members. We have many in our neighborhood who are lukewarm, and many halting between opinions. Discussion is operating well, and is rapidly on the increase. Brickbats, mobs, southern threats—or yet the strong arm of the powers that be, will not be able to arrest its progress."

From Greene county, Ohio.—EFFORTS OF PERSECUTION.—"In our village paper I noticed a reward, as stated by southern papers, for the abduction of R. G. Williams—[indicated at Tuscaloosa,] which determined me to write to Mr. Williams for the whole works published at the office in New York. These are taken by several, and eagerly sought after by others."

From Pittsburgh, Pa.—[After an order for three copies of the *Philanthropist*.—"My chief object in writing, is to acquaint you with the excellent state of public sentiment in Pittsburgh, in relation to the doctrine of Emancipation, and the right of discussion. No editor here has given the slightest encouragement, nor do I believe any of our citizens would countenance Judge Lynch. We are moving steadily (not rapidly) and safely onward. . . . An attempt was made to get up an anti-abolition meeting here, but it failed so completely, that the originator was laughed at, and the proceedings (if any) of the meeting have never been published."

REMARKS.—The following is from one who is venerable for age and piety, and whose learning and talents are employed in the superintendence of one of our most distinguished literary institutions. Would that the spirit here manifested prevailed more extensively in our colleges and among those generally who ought, at least, to give countenance to such as have taken a decided stand in the cause of freedom! To such we would take this opportunity of saying, that they should consider the fearful responsibility they are assuming, when, instead of praying for those whose principles they acknowledge to be right, that they may be directed by heavenly wisdom and love—they are seen beating them back, and joining in the contumely with which they are loaded by the enemies of truth and righteousness.

We are more than usually animated by the encouragement given in this letter. It is precious to us—not less so, from the fact of our having personal knowledge of the venerable writer's worth—having been his pupil some thirty years ago.

"It is neither my duty nor my inclination to take any prominent part, in the battles about slavery—but it is both my duty and inclination to support, as far as I can, those who have taken a decided stand in the cause of freedom, and who are in the front.

"Allow me, then, to say to you—that I hope you will go on with your paper, though it should be issued only once a month: and it is my honest conviction, that you will be directed to preserve such a calm, and steady, and dignified course, as to receive the good will even of many who think differently from you—and that the next generation, of both white and black men, will reap abundantly the blessed fruits.

"Please, also, to consider me, should life be continued, as engaged to pay ten dollars, for the support of the paper for the first year. Sincerely yours, &c."

ANTI-SLAVERY INTELLIGENCE.

West India Emancipation.

[Authentic and recent news from Barbadoes.] A few days since, we had the pleasure of a call from an old and respected acquaintance, formerly a respectable attorney in Vermont, now a merchant in the island of Barbadoes, where he has resided most of the time since September, 1834. His character, as a Christian, and a man of observation, renders his remarks and statements worthy of entire confidence. We took some notes of his conversation, during the hour that he had to spare to us, between the time of his arrival here and his departure to visit his family, after so long a separation; and from these notes we have prepared the following sketch, every particular of which corresponds, we believe, with the statements he made:—

The island of Barbadoes is one of the most populous portions of the earth. The inhabitants are reckoned to be at least 120,000, on an island not more than twenty miles long and twelve broad at the extremity. Of these, it is estimated that 80,000 were slaves, before the abolition act took effect, August 1, 1834, and 20,000 free people of color. The colonial legislature of Barbadoes did not fully emancipate their slaves, as was done in Bermuda and Antigua, but adopted the apprenticeship system with all its absurdities and injustice to the emancipated slaves. This system of apprenticeship had been in operation nearly a year and a half, when our informant left the island. Many of the masters are now voluntarily emancipating their apprentices, and such is the progress of this, that it is probable nearly all will be made wholly free before the expiration of the legal apprenticeship. Intelli-

gent men now generally admit that it would have been better for the island, if the emancipation had been immediate and unconditional at first.

As to the effects of emancipation upon the public safety, they now laugh at the idea of fear. They are talking of reducing their military force. Ask them if they are not afraid the blacks will rise and cut their masters' throats, and they reply, "What should they do that for, when they have got all they wanted?" The free blacks are organized into militia.

Many who opposed the abolition of slavery, step by step, to the last, are now in favor of it. They say it has been a good thing for the island. All their fears in regard to evil consequences have been disappointed.

The capital, Bridgetown, is very populous, the inhabitants from 10 to 20,000, but our informant had never known sufficient disturbance to occasion a person to walk forty rods to see it. There is vice enough, to be sure, but no combination of the vicious to disturb the public peace. He could lie down to sleep there, out of doors, as quietly as in any place in New England.

There is no general complaint of the want of labor. The crops are got in as usual. The blacks will work for pay, on their own day, and extra hours, as readily and as much, as ignorant and depraved white people would do when paid for it. They act just as other people would do in similar circumstances. It is a common remark, that a negro goes of an errand quicker, and loiterer less, now he is paid, than when he was a slave.

As to the fear that abolishing slavery will lead to amalgamation, our friend avers that it operates precisely the other way, to separate the two races. Amalgamation has had its full run there, under the reign of slavery. You may go into a church now, and see 250 persons at a time, of whom you cannot determine confidently whether they are white or colored. It has been a common thing there for white men to keep colored women. Even married men did it. Everybody says this is becoming now far less common, and the colored women, who used to be kept as concubines of white men, are now getting colored husbands. It takes the minister in the cathedral at Bridgetown a quarter of an hour to publish the banns of marriage.

The aversion between the blacks and whites is dying away, and they meet at church and in business as if there was no difference. Our informant attended the anniversary of the Wesleyan Mission, at Bridgetown, where one of the speakers was the attorney-general of the island, a most respectable and talented lawyer, and another a man of color, as black as could be. They sat on the platform together without disparagement, nor was there any thought of strangeness about it. About three-fourths of the congregation present were blacks.

The Bishop of Barbadoes is a friend of the blacks, and is laboring incessantly to promote their improvement. The Methodists are also doing much good among them. Seven thousand Bibles and Testaments were recently received and distributed. Since the abolition act took effect, all efforts for the advancement of the colored population, in knowledge and religion, are greatly increased, all obstacles are removed, and everybody is in favor of it, without a dissenting voice. They see their safety in it. They say, "We must make them intelligent and moral, for our own safety." Every teacher and preacher is allowed to have free access to the people, as free as in the free states of America. Saw almost daily a school containing over 140 colored boys, as well dressed and well behaved as any boys. The same is true of the girl's schools. Visited an estate where eighty children were kept at school on the estate. Everybody speaks of these boys as the future citizens, legislators, and magistrates of the country, and expect them to be as well qualified to take part in the government as anybody.

The effect of abolition on the financial condition of the country is quite remarkable. Our informant says that real estate is rising, for the last six months has risen rapidly, in many instances has risen one-third in a year. If persons had bought real estate two years ago, great fortunes might have been made. The consumption of dry goods has also wonderfully increased, and dealers in dry goods are making fortunes. The negroes now dress like other people. Some years ago, if a colored woman had been seen in the streets wearing a straw bonnet, it would have been almost a signal for a mob. Now they dress as well as any people of their standing.

The imports, generally, are doubled. A very great increase has taken place in the importation of American productions. The blacks begin to live like human beings. The importations were never so great as the last year.

A gentleman of very extensive acquaintance and travel, one of His Majesty's Council for the island of Barbadoes, said that formerly, when he returned to England, the negroes on his plantation used to receive him on his return with sullen silence, regarding him as a tyrant returned among them. Since the abolition, he had visited England again, and returned, and he spoke, with tears in his eyes, of the joy his people manifested at his return, receiving and welcoming him as a friend and benefactor. [Think of that, ye brethren who hold slaves; when will such joy be yours!]

A hurricane in 1831 destroyed most of the parish churches on the island, except in Bridgetown. Many of them have lain in ruins till the past year. Now they are rapidly rebuilding. The gentlemen above referred to, said, that when they commenced the work in his parish, the negroes came together without any suggestion or solicitation, and offered their services to work on the building on their day, Saturday. The offer was at first declined, out of consideration for them, but they would not be put off. They insisted on it, "It belongs to us, this is our church as much as yours, this is our country now, our children will worship here," &c. The women came with the men, all animated with one spirit, and all taking the deepest interest in the work. [How much more grateful to the heart than colonization!]

The change of feeling on the subject of abolition is entire. Our friend was surprised, on his first arrival, to hear the subject so freely spoken of immediately after the act took effect. He supposed he should have to talk carefully and in whispers, as at the south. The papers are beginning to publish in favor of the act. While it was talked of, the people and the papers were violent and furious against it. After the first of August, seeing no disturbance, they began to congratulate each other. Now they are coming round entirely, and already begin to reproach America for continuing the system of slavery. This change does not seem to have arisen from any new views of slavery as a sin; but from what they see of the effects of abolition they are satisfied it is a great benefit. And they say it will come to the same result in America, whenever abolition takes place. Said our friend, "I felt ashamed of my country, to hear it reproached for the absurdity and inconsistency and sin of slavery, and I could make no reply. Here, among our own people, one does not feel it so much; but when we get abroad we feel it keenly."

It is not the case, that the negroes became impudent towards the whites, in consequence of emancipation. On the contrary, it is universally said that they are more civil than they used to be.

In short, one only needs to see the West Indies, to be convinced of the safety and utility of abolishing slavery. The experiment of emancipation has already gone on long enough to prove that negroes are like other people; if you give them their rights they are grateful, and have sense enough to see that it is now for their interest to support the laws, and that if they make disturbance they punish only themselves.

The whites on the island are rather a pleasure-loving people, hospitable and polite, but there is little serious piety apparent among them. We regret to learn that the temperance reformation has yet to begin on this interesting island.—N. Y. Evangelist.

POETRY.

The Slave equal to his Master.

FROM POLLOCK'S COURSE OF TIME.

Mean truth had been assented to in time,
Which never, till this day, had made a due
Impression on the heart. Take one example.
Early from heaven it was revealed, and oft
Repeated in the world, from pulpits preached,
And penned and read in holy books, that God
Respected not the persons of mankind.
Had this been truly credited and felt,
The king, in purple robe, had owned, indeed,
The beggar for his brother; pride of rank
And office thawed into paternal love;
Oppression feared the day of equal rights,
Predicted; covetous extortion kept
In mind the hour of reckoning, soon to come;
And bribed injustice thought of being judged,
When he should stand, on equal foot, beside
The man he wronged, and surely—may, 'tis true,
Most true, beyond all whispering of doubt,
That he, who lifted up the reeking scourge,
Dripping with gore from the slave's back, before
He struck again, had paused, and seriously
Of that tribunal thought, where God himself
Should look him in the face, and ask in wrath,
"Why didst thou this? Man! was he not thy brother
Bone of thy bone, and flesh and blood of thine?"
But, ah! this truth, by heaven and reason taught,
Was never fully credited on earth.
The titled, flattered, lofty men of power,
Whose wealth bought verdicts of applause for deeds
Of wickedness, could ne'er believe the time
Should truly come when judgment should proceed
Impartially against them, and they, too,
Have no good speaker at the Judge's ear,
No witnesses to bring them off for gold,
No power to turn the sentence from its course;
And they of low estate, who saw themselves,
Day after day, despised, and wronged, and mocked,
Without redress, could scarcely think the day
Should e'er arrive, when they, in truth should stand
On perfect level with the potentates
And princes of the earth, and have their cause
Examined fairly, and their rights allowed.
But now this truth was felt, believed and felt,
That men were really of a common stock,
That no man ever had been more than man.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS.

Mobs.

We do not recollect ever to have seen a more dignified enunciation of public spirit, than the following resolutions of the inhabitants of Willoughby. Such a public expression in support of the freedom of sitting down together, and discussing a moral subject, or of calling in our neighbors to aid us, if they choose to come, and of standing up to talk, when we are weary of sitting, whether on the question of slavery or any other, every candid man, whatever may be his opinion on the slavery question, must, we think, admit, at the present time, to be just, pertinent, and opportune.

We understand from the Cleveland Whig, that many of the subscribers to these resolutions were not abolitionists. So frank and manly an avowal of the principles of freedom most cheerfully call to mind the days of republicanism.—Ohio Paper.

From the Cleveland Whig.

At a meeting of the citizens of the town of Willoughby convened at the office of L. Stedling, Esq., on Saturday evening, 26th instant, for the purpose of forming a society, to be called a society for the free discussion of slavery, H. A. Sharp was appointed to the chair, and H. L. Hosmer, secretary.

Previous to passing the resolutions, the following declaration of opinion was read and unanimously adopted.

Among the many subjects before the public mind of the present age, the right of free discussion, on matters of national and local importance, seem to be the most questioned. This great constitutional prerogative, has never been disputed until within the last six months, and on no subject but that of slavery. The ground for this denial, and the reasons urged in its favor, are for the most part made up of anticipated evils, and formidable consequences. The persons who support it, are those who, with very few exceptions, have never examined the nature of so dangerous a precedent, and the consequences which will follow its establishment. The unquestionable right of all persons in this republic, to discuss every subject pertaining to its welfare; their duty so to do: the freedom of a great portion of her citizens, and the enjoyment of those privileges, granted them by their ancestors, as well as the dignity and moral character of all the northern states, are jeopardized, insulted, and utterly destroyed by the establishment of this dangerous and despotic principle. Montesquieu, in the "Spirit of Laws," says, that virtue ought to be the ruling principle of every republic, and that a republic without it is in fact a despotism. Under this head, it is clear that the freedom of speech is necessary that the people may understand; and that by their conflicting opinions, doubts may be removed, uninterrupted peace maintained, and the question at issue decided, on the great principle that the majority must in all cases govern. This has been the spirit of our free institutions, ever since the formation of our republic. It is now denied. What is the principle by which it is superseded? Why, evidently, that the discussion of any subject, of either national, moral, or religious import, is to be silenced by the physical process of a mob. The truth or falsity of any subject, however consequential, is kept in the dark, and the people with whom it is entrusted, and through whom, to future generations, must be perpetuated, the safety, freedom, and spirit of our government, must judge of its importance by their individual prejudices, and the conflicting opinions of party presses. It must appear obvious to every candid mind, that a principle at once so repugnant to the spirit of our government, so derogatory to the general character of our constitution, and so degrading to the honor of American patriotism, is calculated to weaken the strength of the people, create sectional differences, under the bonds of social communities, and if not to overthrow now, to pave the way for a final overthrow of all republican principle. How long before this shall happen, we shall not attempt to determine; but the history of our country for the six past months is filled with events so exciting and extraordinary, that we fear the time is not far distant. Heaven avert the calamity so terrible. We tremble for our country, if she has indeed retreated so far into the wilderness of despotism. We feel that it is wrong, and regret that there should be those among our citizens, who, ignorant of the cause and the consequences of the cause they oppose, will submit to the influence of others alike ignorant, but who are willing to sacrifice every noble principle of American citizenship, on the altar of their own vanity and self-importance.

We feel it to be our duty as American citizens, as enjoyers of that great instrument which guarantees our freedom, to rise up at once and assist in defending its original glory and wiping away the stain which ignorance and vanity have cast upon it. We, therefore, inhabitants of the town of Willoughby,

believing that it is our duty to discuss any subject which is important to the welfare of the nation—that the constitution of the United States protects us in so doing—that the distinction between a majority and minority exists in the good judgment of the people, rather than physical force—that republican sentiments ought to triumph over the infuriated feelings of a mob—that the existence and perpetuity of this union depend upon the true investigation of, and immediate application of a remedy to its evils by the people and their representatives—that these evils and their proper remedies are only to be ascertained through the medium of all persons acquainted with them—and that in justice to our common country, and institutions, we ought not to yield to the will of any majority however formidable or threatening, who in our opinion, are unacquainted with the subject under discussion, do hereby form ourselves into a society, which shall be known as a "society for the free discussion of the subject of slavery in all its bearings."—Therefore,

Resolved, That we regard the great constitutional right of freedom of speech, as sacred and inalienable, and that all our influence is hereby pledged to secure its unembarrassed exercise.

H. Graham, H. A. Sharp,
L. A. Moody, Elisha Abbot,
J. V. Viall, Leonard Williams,
Clark Jones, H. L. Hosmer,
F. K. Lewis, Major King,
Thomas Graham, L. Melvin,
J. Wood, A. G. Briggs,
W. Williams, A. Wakefield,
J. C. Sharp, Samuel Wilson,
James Kapple, B. Brainard,
W. N. Humphry, W. P. Lyon,
L. Sterling, Elijah Rexford,
Robert Brown, Nahum White,
John Davidson, R. Layman,
R. Whitney, A. Randall,
H. Jay Humphry, R. Woolsey.

A constitution was then read and adopted. On motion, H. A. Sharp was elected president, Elisha Abbot, vice president, and H. L. Hosmer, secretary of this society.

On motion, Messrs. Lewis, White, and Rexford were appointed a committee to procure a room for the next meeting of this society. On motion, W. Alvord was invited to deliver a course of lectures on slavery before this society, to commence on Tuesday evening next. On motion: That ladies generally be invited to attend. Moved, that the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Cleveland Whig and Hudson Observer; and that this meeting adjourn until Tuesday evening next, then to meet at such place as the committee should provide.

H. A. SHARP, Pres't.

H. L. HOSMER, Sec'y.

Mobs.

We copy from the Fredonia Censor of last week, two articles, as we find them in juxtaposition in that paper—one entitled "Destruction of the Land Office in this county," the other "Anti-Slavery." We have copied them as we find them, for the purpose of expressing our views, principally with regard to the latter article. We believe, most sincerely, that the character, and the consequences, of the proceedings in both cases are equally reprehensible, and alike in their influences and results.

Has the time really come, in these northern states, when any class of men may not peaceably assemble to promote a lawful object, because another portion of the people doubts its expediency? We can see but a step between the proceedings at Dunkirk, and those at Mayville. Indeed, there are traits in those at the former place more deplorable than those at the latter. There had been no offence, on the rights of others, or against the laws of the land, on the part of those who assembled at Dunkirk, to form an anti-slavery society. It was in fact otherwise in the other case. Under other circumstances, the house in which the abolitionists assembled, would have been torn down over their heads. At Utica it was threatened, and would undoubtedly have been executed, but for the retreat of the abolitionists. Another fact to be most deeply deplored, is, that a portion of the press, and a great many men high in office, justify the mobs that assembled to put down the abolitionists. This sanctifies the procedure, in the estimate of the ignorant and inconsiderate, and leads to indiscriminate acts of violence and outrage.

We are not now justifying or defending the abolitionists. The merits or demerits of their cause, has nothing to do with our remarks. It is against mobs that we oppose them—whether headed by the foreigner with his shellalah, or the more high in office, in his official robes—that we declaim. If abolitionists may be put down in their attempts peaceably to assemble as such, we know not why the Presbyterians, or the Roman Catholics, or the friends of Temperance, or any other class whose principles are odious to others, may not be likewise treated. Nay more, we know, to the extent of our knowledge of human nature, that if the public press, and public sentiment, tolerate the outrages in one case, they will be extended with increased violence to the other cases.

Our solemn conviction is, that unless public men—men of influence in the community—and especially the press, shall raise their united voice against these encroachments upon individual and social liberty, which have of late become so fashionable in the land, the progress of misrule and mobocracy will soon leave nothing worth enjoying of our social rights.—Cleveland Whig

DESTRUCTION OF THE LAND OFFICE IN THIS COUNTY.

We regret to be obliged to state that the Land Office at Mayville, was levelled to the ground on Saturday night last, by some five hundred individuals, whose feelings have been wrought up to the highest pitch of exasperation, by the course pursued by the new land company. Information, it appears, had been circulated through several of the back towns, that a convention of the settlers was to be held at Barnhart's place, about two miles from Mayville, at 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, by which a large collection got together;—they then proceeded to Mayville—posted sentinels around the land office, while others commenced the work of destruction, which was persevered in until the main building, which is of wood, was completely prostrated and scattered about, and the stone vault adjoining (which withstood their efforts about two hours) was entered, and the books and papers obtained; when they returned to the place of rendezvous, where the books and papers were put in a pile and attempt made to burn them, but through the earnest intercession of a few citizens, they were rescued and saved. These are the facts, so far as we have been able to gather them from the best sources, (Mayville being twenty-one miles distant from us.)—Fredonia Censor.

A Lesson for Doughfaces and Mobocrats.

A MOB RAISED UP AND—PUT DOWN AGAIN.

REV. A. A. PHELPS lectured on slavery in Farmington, Conn., Monday evening, Dec. 14th, and was disturbed. He afterwards appointed another lecture for the next evening—and the disturbance was increased. Handsfull of large shot were thrown at the speaker, but did not reach him. An individual in a sneaking assassinlike spirit, went round to the backside of the building, and hurled a brick through the window, which passed only one pane above the speaker's head—with such velocity, that it went over the heads of the audience across the hall, entered the plastering on the opposite side, and even broke the lath. Had it struck where it was intended, it must have been a fatal blow. Another meeting was appointed for Wednesday evening. The friends of law were roused—the sheriff of the county, with deputies and able bodied men ready to do his bidding, were present; and the friends of law triumphed.

On Friday afternoon a meeting was held to form an anti-slavery society.

But the best of it is, that a grand juror entered a complaint against fourteen individuals, who in process of time, with the exception of one who absconded, were all bound over for trial—so that the reputation of Farmington stands redeemed.

This issue of mob violence ought to be a matter of universal joy and congratulation. In the name of all the friends of free discussion, we thank Mr. Phelps for his perseverance. The emergency required it. It was a question of life or death as to our civil rights. And we wish the friends of law and order, whether abolitionists or not, would imitate those of Farmington in putting down violence.—Chr. Mirror.

The Boston Mob.

The riot which took place during the past summer in the "Literary Emporium," must still be fresh in the recollection of our readers. We advert to it at the present time from perceiving in the last number of the Boston Galaxy, a candid and impartial notice of that disgraceful transaction. It was said at the time, we recollect, that this mob differed in one important feature from all other mobs. Most persons were surprised at the time, at the distinction attempted to be drawn—as if a mob, actuated by the mad spirit of violence, was not essentially and truly a mob; no matter whether it attacks a house in Brattle street—fires a convent in Charlestown—burns the furniture of a gentleman in New York—or hangs five persons at Vicksburg. The distinction made was, that the Boston mob was a mob of gentlemen. This is certainly making a difference with a distinction; but the distinction is not very essential in a free country, and one professedly governed by equal laws. By the same system of reasoning, we might readily excuse crimes of the deepest dye, for a difference of degree does not, in the least particular, change the principle. This is robbery committed by a gentleman might be construed to be no robbery, and the same of other offences. We have not yet met with any legal statutes which confine a breach of the laws to any particular class of society, or empower another class to violate them with impunity.—Phila. Eve. Star.

PRO-SLAVERY ECCLESIASTICS.

John N. Maffitt's Sentiments on Abolitionism.

ALTHOUGH it might be considered a work of supererogation to make a formal expression of our sentiments on the subject of abolitionism, especially as the principles advanced by the Western Methodist, of which we have been associate editor for the past two years, have been every whit southern, and directly opposed to the recklessness and fanaticism that have inspired northern enthusiasts in their rash denunciations of the south, yet it may be a duty we owe to our friends and the public at large to make an explicit statement of our views on this subject.

Having in years past been numbered among the advocates of the colonization society and delivered one or two public addresses in favor of its principles, it may be possible, from this fact, for a malicious mind to misrepresent us as abolitionists. Our course, however, has been clear, and in consonance with a pure conscience, as well as a sincere desire not to hinder the glorious work of the gospel ministry committed to our hands by agitating questions of political bearing. In years past, we delivered no sentiments nor advanced any views differing from the sentiments of the society whose cause we advocated. But, warned by the state of the slave question, we have not, for about four years, advocated even the cause of colonization. We can appeal in proof of our prudence on this subject to the Rev. Mr. Clapp, of New Orleans, in whose presence and before other distinguished gentlemen of that city, we refused, only last winter, to advocate the cause of the Colonization Society, or even to deliver a farewell address to a number of emigrants bound for Africa. And in this course we feel the more satisfaction, since our late travels and residence in the south have given us a practical acquaintance with the bearings of the slave question. With the knowledge we have now accumulated, we can never be an abolitionist. We can never lend our name or influence to the mad project of instant emancipation; we can never consent to the interference of the non-slaveholding states with the claims of property in the slaveholding parts of the union; nor can we believe that ministers of the gospel, or others living in the northern states, have any such knowledge on the subject as to entitle them even to the office of advisers on this subject, much less to be dictators.

With regard to the condition of the slave population of the south, we must be permitted to say, that we have found more evidences of comfort, a fresher, healthier, and more intellectual aspect, freedom from anxiety and corroding care, and the respectability arising from well-ordered lives, than we have ever witnessed among the free colored population of the north. There can be no mistake in this matter, when carefully investigated on the spot.

We conclude by expressing our full belief that the measures lately instituted at the north, and entered into by many ministers of the gospel and professing christians, have a legitimate and immediate tendency to shut out the entire slave population of the south from the precious religious privileges which many of them enjoy, to render their situation exceedingly unpleasant, and to endanger the safety and union of the republic.

As this dreadful subject is certainly pregnant with evils too horrible to name, we warn all our brethren in the ministry and membership to abandon the agitating subject, and never suffer the work of the Lord to sustain injury in the fierce collision of an interference in questions of such an exciting character. The ark of the Lord was considered too sacred for the touch of impious hands; so let the sacred pulpit be pure from the unhallowed contact with the free questions of the right of property and of individual and state interference with those rights. Never let the spiritual fabric of our time-honored church gather about its summit the clouds of passion and fierce contention, lest these clouds should become the storm and the thunder that shall shake the structure of its foundation. Forever may peace with all men be blazoned on our banners—interference with none; having no war but against spiritual wickedness, and no triumph but in the bloodless victories of a peaceful gospel.—Miss. Chr. Her.

Slaveholding Christians.

If any man believes that southern Christianity is not corrupted by slavery, let him read the following extract of a recent memorial of the Charleston Baptist Association to the legislature of South Carolina.—Emancipator.

"The undersigned would further represent, that the said association does not consider that the holy scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all. The Divine Author of our holy religion, in particular, found slavery a part of the existing institutions of society, with which, if not sinful, it was not his design to intermeddle, but to leave them entirely to the control of men. Adopting this, therefore, as one of the allowed arrangements of society, he made it the province of his religion only, to prescribe the reciprocal duties of religion. The question, it is believed, is purely one of political economy. It amounts, in effect, to this—WHETHER THE OPERATIVES OF A COUNTRY SHALL BE BOUGHT AND SOLD, AND THEMSELVES BECOME PROPERTY, AS IN THIS STATE; OR WHETHER THEY SHALL BECOME HIRELINGS, AND THEIR LABOR ONLY BECOME PROPERTY, AS IN SOME OTHER STATES. In other words, whether an employer may buy the whole time of laborers at once, of those who have a right to dispose of it. [Who has this right but the labor-

ers themselves!] with a permanent relation of protection and care over them, or whether he shall be restricted to buy it in certain portions only, subject to their control, and with no such permanent relation of care and protection. THE RIGHT OF MASTERS TO DISPOSE OF THE TIME OF THEIR SLAVES HAS BEEN DISTINCTLY RECOGNIZED BY THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS, who is surely at liberty to vest the right of property over any object in whomsoever he pleases. That the lawful possessor should retain this right, at will, is no more against the laws of society and good morals, than that he should retain the personal endowments with which his Creator has blessed him, or the money and lands inherited from his ancestors or acquired by his industry. And neither society nor individuals, have any more right to demand a relinquishment, without an equivalent, in the one case, than in the other.

"As it is a question purely of political economy, and one which in this country, is reserved to the cognizance of the state governments severally, it is further believed, that the state of South Carolina alone has the right to regulate the existence and condition of slavery within her territorial limits; and should resist to the utmost every invasion of this right, come from what quarter, and under whatever pretence it may."

The Southern Ministry.

The synod of South Carolina and Georgia say, in their recent narrative: "The number of our ministers is but little more than half the number of our churches, and of those ministers not one-fifth sustain any pastoral relation. The number of ministers is about one hundred, and many of them were obliged to devote a part or the whole of their time to teaching, farming, or some other secular employment to procure a support for their families." Farming, we suppose, means slave-driving at the south. It is a sad state of things, and shows how little is to be expected from such ministers and such churches for the real benefit of the slave population.

LITERARY.

Liberty and Slavery.

DISGUISE thyself as thou wilt, still, Slavery! still thou art a bitter draught; and though thousands in all ages have been made to drink of thee, thou art no less bitter on that account! It is thou, Liberty! thrice sweet and gracious goddess, whom all, in public or in private, worship, whose taste is grateful and ever will be so, till nature herself shall change—no tint of words can spot thy snowy mantle, or chemist power turn thy sceptre into iron! With thee to smile upon him as he eats his crust, the swain is happier than his monarch, from whose court thou art exiled. Gracious heaven! grant me but health, thou great Bestower of it, and give me but this, fair goddess, as my companion; and shower down the mitres, if it seems good unto thy divine providence, upon those heads which are aching for them.

Pursuing these ideas, I sat down close by my table, and leaning my head upon my hand, I began to figure to myself the miseries of confinement. I was in a right frame for it, and so I gave full scope to my imagination.

I was going to begin with the millions of my fellow-creatures born to no inheritance but slavery; but finding, however affecting the picture was, that I could not bring it nearer me, and that the multitude of sad groups in it, did but distract me—

I took a single captive, and having first shut him up in his dungeon, I then looked through the twilight of his grated door to take his picture.

I beheld his body half wasted away with long expectation and confinement, and felt what kind of sickness of the heart it was which arises from hope deferred. Upon looking nearer, I saw him pale and feverish: in thirty years the western breeze had not once fanned his blood—he had no sun, no moon, in all that time—nor had the voice of friend or kinsman breathed through his lattice. His children—

But here my heart began to bleed—and I was forced to go on with another part of the portrait.

He was sitting upon the ground upon a little straw, in the farthest corner of his dun-oon, which was alternately his chair and bed; a little calendar of small sticks were laid at the head, notched all over with the dismal days and nights he had passed there—he had one of those little sticks in his hand, and with a rusty nail he was etching another day of misery to add to the heap. As I darkened the little light he had, he lifted up a hopeless eye towards the door, then cast it down—shook his head, and went on with his work of affliction. I heard his chains upon his legs, as he turned his body to lay his little stick upon the bundle—he gave a deep sigh—I saw the iron enter into his soul—I burst into tears—I could not restrain the picture of confinement which my fancy had drawn.—Sterne.

Why Weepst Thou?

AND why dost thou weep, stranger? Hath the plunderer despoiled thee of thy wealth? And dost thou give thy years to the cruc?

Plunderers have indeed robbed me: I labor for the heartless, and eat my bread in pain. But it is not therefore that I weep. I have wealth that thieves cannot steal; and my toil will soon come to an end. I mourn not for wealth, and repine not at the travail of sore bondage.

Then, stranger, why dost thou weep? Hast thou followed thy friends to the grave? Doth the tomb hide the forms of thy loved ones?

My loved ones are indeed in the land of darkness. The grave hath closed upon them and I see them not. But I weep not for these. "I am the resurrection and the life," saith my Lord, "He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." "They shall rise in the resurrection at the last day." "All the days of mine appointed time will I wait till my chance come." I weep not for the dead—and refuse not the lot of the living.

Why then, stranger, dost thou weep? Hath the voice of detraction assailed thee? Dost thou know the piercing stings of false friendship? Is thy heart wrung with the reproaches of the unjust, and the taunts of the ungrateful? I have, indeed, been "the song of the drunkard." That sat at my table hath lifted up his heel against me. And he that called me brother, hath laid snares for my feet. But neither yet for these things do I weep. My master bids me rejoice, when my name is cast out as evil. I have a friend that sticketh closer than a brother. He will make my feet to stand in the high places of the rocks, and prepare me a mansion, with my brethren, where treachery and distrust can never enter. My Redeemer was wounded in the house of his friends! It is enough for the disciple that he be as his Master. I weep not for this.

And yet, stranger, thy tears are still flowing. Thy cheeks are furrowed with channels, and they are never dry. Tell me, at length, I pray thee, why is it that thou dost weep? If thy wealth be in heaven, if thy loved ones have gone thither to await thee, if thou canst rejoice in tribulation, and murmurest not to tread in the footsteps of thy Master, then tell me, I conjure thee, for what cause dost thou weep?

Bend hither thy footsteps, inquirer! Seest thou that wide spreading valley? Give thine eyes to this lengthened tube. Let it assist thy vision, and consider it attentively. Nay, shrink not from the knowledge of its secrets. Tell me—what dost thou see?

I see, said the inquirer, a dark rolling torrent, that winds its way through the midst of that valley. It is a torrent of fire, mingled with blood. It is swollen with the tears of the widow. Its murmurs are blended with the sighs of the orphan. Generations are swept away by its current. It turns up the green pastures where it flows. Its touch is pollution; and its taste is death. Yet thoughtless youths, like gilded butterflies, are fluttering around its brink. Fashion is tempting them to up, and Mammon, at every corner, is turning into gold, the waters of that deadly stream. And what is it more than I see!—pollution in the portals of the sanctuary? Nay, stranger! it cannot be! Take back thy magic telescope, stranger! For surely that it mocked thy vision, and shown me, for reality, the dreamy vision of fiction.

Nay, trust me, inquirer, the vision is true. Pollution is indeed in the sanctuary, and its portals are stained with blood. A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widow, is God, in his holy habitation. But I have seen violence and strife in the city. From the vulture the prey

escapeth not. Justice is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. The people have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way.

Therefore do I weep, and "Oh! that my head were as waters, and that mine eyes were as a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people."—Female Advocate.

Story from the Mishna of the Rabbins.

DURING the absence of the Rabbi Meir from his house, his two sons died; both of them of uncommon beauty, and enlightened by the law. His wife bore them to her chamber, laid them upon the bed, and spread a white covering over their bodies.

When Rabbi Meir returned, his first inquiry was for his sons. His wife reached to him a goblet; he praised the Lord at the going out of the Sabbath, drank, and again asked, "Where are my sons, that they may too drink of the cup of blessing?"

"They will not be far off," she said, placing food before him that he might eat. He was in a gladsome and genial mood, and when he had said grace after the meal, she thus addressed him: "Rabbi, with thy permission, I would fain propose to thee one question."

"Ask it, then, my love," replied he.

"A few days ago a person entrusted some jewels in my custody, and now he demands them; should I give them back to him?"

"This is a question," said Rabbi Meir, "which my wife should not have thought it necessary to ask. What wouldst thou hesitate or be reluctant to restore to every one his own?"

"No," she replied, "but yet I thought it best not to restore them without acquainting thee therewith." She then led him to the chamber, and stepping to the bed, took the white covering from the dead bodies. "Ah! my sons, my sons!" loudly lamented their father, "my sons! the light of my eyes, and the light of my understanding. I was your father—but ye were my teachers in the law."

The mother turned away, and wept bitterly. At length she took the husband by the hand, and said, "Rabbi, didst thou not teach me that we must not be reluctant to restore that which was entrusted to our keeping? See, the Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, and blessed be the name of the Lord!"

"Blessed be the name of the Lord!" echoed the holy man; "and blessed be his holy name forever."

Montesquieu's Plea for Slavery.

HE SAYS—Were I to vindicate our right to make slaves of the negroes, these should be my arguments: The Europeans having extirpated the Americans, were obliged to make slaves of the Africans for clearing such vast tracts of land. Sugar would be too dear, if the plants which produce it were cultivated by any other than slaves. These creatures are all over black, and with such a flat nose that they can scarcely be pitted. It is hardly to be believed that God, who is a wise being, should place a soul, especially a good soul, in such a black, ugly body. The color of the skin may be determined by that of the hair, which among the Egyptians, the best philosophers in the world, was of such importance, that they put to death all the red haired men who fell into their hands. The negroes prefer a glass necklace to that of gold, which polite nations so highly value: can there be a greater proof of their wanting common sense? It is impossible for us to suppose these creatures to be men, because, allowing them to be men, a suspicion would follow, that we ourselves are not Christians. Wreak minds exaggerate too much the wrong done to the African; for, were the case as they state it, would the European powers, who make so many needless conventions among themselves, have failed to make a general one in behalf of humanity and compassion?—N. Y. Evan.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Anti-Slavery Ecclesiastics.

The following resolutions were passed and ordered to be published last August, but as that order was not complied with, at a meeting of the Black River Association held at North Adams, Jefferson county, February 2, 1836, they were again ordered to be forwarded for publication. You will therefore confer a favor by giving publicity.

Whereas more than two millions of the human family in this land of light and liberty are in bondage, deprived not only of their natural rights, but a great majority of them of the entire means of grace—therefore,

Resolved, 1. That slavery is a sin, and we know no remedy for it but immediate abolition.

Resolved, 2. As the sentiments of this body, that we will hold no communion with slaveholding ministers, or slaveholding church members, and that we will use all means consistent with the gospel, to wake up the public mind on this subject, until the church is purified from this sin.

Resolved, 3. As the sentiment of this ecclesiastical body, that the ministers composing it be requested to preach on this subject, and use in conjunction with their respective churches, Christian efforts to enlighten the public mind, and also to sustain the efforts of the American Anti-Slavery Society.—N. Y. Evan.

Questions.

To be answered by those who believe the Bible sanctions slavery.

1. If the Bible sanctions property in human flesh, why does it not say, The servant that escapes from his master shall not be discharged from such service: he shall surely be delivered up.—Deut. xxiii. 15.

2. Why does not the Bible say, Servants obey your masters in all things for God hath ordained that a large portion of mankind shall always be slaves?—Titus ii. 9, 10.

3. Why does not the Bible say, God hath made of different races and capacities all nations, some to be masters and some to be slaves?—Acts xvii. 26.

4. Why does not the Bible say, And God said, Let us make the white man in our image, after our likeness; and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowls of the air, and over the cattle, and over the black man, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth!—Gen. i. 26.—H. Rights.

The Oglethorpe University, Ga.

PERHAPS the agents and friends of this nascent institution of the south will pardon us, if the title they assumed leads us to copy the following sentiments of General Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia.

"My friends and I settled the colony of Georgia, and by charter were established trustees, to make laws, &c. We determined not to suffer slavery there. But the slave merchants and their adherents occasioned us not only much trouble, but at last got the then government to favor them. We would not suffer slavery (which is against the gospel as well as the fundamental law of England) to be authorized under our authority; we refused as trustees to make a law permitting such a horrid crime. The government finding the trustees resolved firmly not to concur with what they believed unjust, took away the charter by which no law could be passed without our consent."—N. Y. Evan.

Jamaica.

We have received by the Orbit a file of Jamaica papers to the 15th ult. They state that the weather was remarkably cold, the thermometer at Kingston having been down to 54°. The papers congratulate the country on the tranquil state of the negro population, and that the holidays had passed over without any disturbance.—N. Y. Adv.

Congress.

Has jurisdiction over 6000 slaves in the District of Columbia, and 20,000 in the territories of Arkansas and Florida, for which the non-slaveholding states are responsible; for, combined, they have constitutional power to abolish slavery within these limits.